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Quintus of Smyrna's *Posthomerica*

A Study of Heroic Characterization and Heroism

By

Tine Scheijnen

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In loving memory of Bomma and Bompa

La divine Séléné vient à les apercevoir du haut de sa course;
son cœur, au souvenir de l'irréprochable Endymion, répand sur eux sa
plus vive lumière pour éclairer leur longue route.

(free from Vian's Quintus translation)

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Preface

> We can be heroes
> Forever and ever[1]

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Some heroes, some stories, live on forever. Homer presents us with the oldest example of an immortal story known to Western literature in his accounts of the Trojan War. The epic poem on which this study focuses is dated to the 3rd century CE, centuries after Homer worked, but is conceived as a direct sequel to the *Iliad* and creates a clear setup for the *Odyssey*. As such, Quintus of Smyrna's *Posthomerica* presents a remarkable example of the reception of the stories and heroic characters of the Trojan War saga. His language and style betray strong Homeric inspiration; as a result, the *Posthomerica* has most often been read with, next to or even through Homer—even up to the present, as the titles of some of the more recent publications on this topic suggest. Yet Quintus scholarship over the last few decades has increasingly considered the *Posthomerica* as an independent literary composition, which strongly benefits from a dialogue with the Homeric epics, but also departs from this model by incorporating later literary developments. During multiple conversations with classics scholars, I have—to my joy—noticed that Quintus is no longer an obscure author. Several of those acquainted with his work have voiced their basic assumption that "studying Quintus requires a thorough knowledge of his sources". This quote—which I have written down from a conversation with one of the contributors to the conference "Homer and the Good Ruler" (Ghent, May 2015)—gives a strong indication of the reason for Quintus' popularity through today: Quintus' complex engagement with various traditions. My own study still ties in with this tradition-centred approach, but also starts at the other end. I have posited as my first and basic aim to present a reading of the *Posthomerica* itself, focused on

1 "Heroes"—David Bowie. Studying 'heroes and heroism' in Quintus has sharpened my awareness of the use of these words and references to these notions in our modern culture. Despite many differences between notions and definitions of 'heroism' throughout space and time (see section 1.2), some quotes have a time-crossing appeal. Such lyrics, taken from present-day songs, serve as playful preludes to my chapters.

the linear progress of the narrative and with the aim of providing an overview of the epic as a coherent, independent literary text. The word 'independent' does not imply that I shun the study of literary sources—on the contrary—but rather means that I will not allow such a study to steer my entire reading of the *Posthomerica*.

Each reading requires a focus; mine is on the characterization of Quintus' heroes and on their heroic convictions and practice, for which I use the umbrella term 'heroism'. Since there have been and still are uncountable notions of 'heroism' (see section 1.2), I have narrowed my scope to one notion that was undeniably quite influential for Quintus, namely 'Homeric heroism'. I will not simply investigate how Homeric (or unhomeric) Quintus' Posthomeric[2] notion of 'heroism' is. In fact, the *Posthomerica* is quite explicitly *not* the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. A basic assumption throughout my investigations is that the *Posthomerica* fills in the gap between both Homeric epics, and hence is inevitably trapped between them. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* perceive the Trojan War from decisively different perspectives, which influence their respective representations of heroes and their heroic motivations. If I primarily take into account how Quintus' heroes engage with their Homeric counterparts, with other Homeric characters and their beliefs, this essentially—and paradoxically—puts forward the question of how the *Posthomerica* finds new ways to bring these sometimes contradictory tendencies together.

This study starts with an introductory chapter outlining the current state of Quintus studies, a few key principles of Homeric heroism and methodological reflections relevant to my approach. The actual literary analysis of the *Posthomerica* is divided into two parts and follows the course of Quintus' epic linearly, from Book 1 (Chapter 2) to Book 14 (Chapter 7). Part 1 focuses on the development of certain heroic characters during the final battles around Troy (i.e. Books 1 to 11), Part 2 on the evolutions of their heroic practices and beliefs in the context of the Sack (i.e. Books 12 to 14). Throughout, the characters of Achilles and Neoptolemus form a recurrent thread. The relation between the Aeacids is based on the inheritance of an excellent position on the battlefield and a set of specific heroic convictions. Before leaving for Troy to succeed his father, the young Neoptolemus expresses to his mother his intention not to die before he would have done something "worthy of the Aeacids" (τι καὶ ἄξιον Αἰακίδῃσιν: Q.S. 7.291). His pursuit of this specific heroic aspiration and the excel-

2 Throughout this study, the word 'Posthomeric' specifically signifies 'of [Quintus' epic] the *Posthomerica*'.

lence of two Aeacids that have preceded him—Achilles and Ajax Major—are prominent issues throughout the *Posthomerica*, as they will be in my literary analysis. The following paragraphs give a more detailed overview of Chapters 2 to 7.

Chapter 2 starts at the very beginning of the *Posthomerica*, when Troy is in desperate need of a new champion to replace Hector. In two successive books, the Amazon Queen Penthesilea (Book 1) and Eos' son Memnon (Book 2) offer their services. Their respective arrivals, *aristeiai* and deaths are described in a parallel composition, which also highlights the differences in characterization between the two heroes. My comparative study approaches the boastful, impetuous Penthesilea and the moderate yet vigorous Memnon as two contrasting attempts to counter Achilles. They both fail, but their heroic efforts are appreciated differently by the narrator, their fellow characters and especially Achilles himself.

After his two final confrontations, Achilles meets his fate by an arrow of Apollo (Book 3). Chapter 3 investigates the immediate heroic implications of his death. In the fight around Achilles' body and during the funeral games of Book 4, Ajax Major manifests himself as a hero with strong 'Achillean potential'. A significant narrative tool for his characterization is the recurrent use of Iliadic intertextuality, combined with intra-textual references to Achilles' earlier representation in the *Posthomerica*. Although in strength there is no match for Ajax on the battlefield after Achilles' death, he is convincingly defeated by Odysseus' clever speeches during the judgment of arms. With the armour of Achilles at stake as a prize for "the best of the Achaeans", this quarrel between Odysseus and Ajax explicitly invites a reflection on the various practices of heroism and raises the question of how the Achaeans should now proceed to obtain victory in the Trojan War. With the death of their last 'Iliadic bulwark' Ajax, prospects are not favourable at the end of Book 5.

In Book 6, Neoptolemus is introduced as the heir of Achilles and the promising new Achaean champion. Barely known from Homer and only sporadically present in later traditions, Neoptolemus is hardly ever depicted as a hero on the battlefield in the attested literature. My Chapter 4 investigates how Quintus meets the challenge of giving Homeric shape to his version of Neoptolemus. The new hero is characterized as having a striking resemblance to Achilles, in both physical appearance and heroic beliefs, but is also a young hero who has yet to prove his own worth. Rather than serving as his exact copy, Neoptolemus is conceived as the heir of Achilles, whose heroic aspiration upon departure towards Troy is to do something "worthy of the Aeacids". The armour of Achilles, especially his Pelian spear, is instrumental to his first successes as a warrior.

Chapter 4 specifically investigates Neoptolemus' characterization as a warrior as it is constructed from Books 6 (the arrival of his antagonist Eurypylus) to 11 (the final battle around Troy), especially in Books 7 and 8 and the first part of Book 9, also including the young hero's decisive role in the Sack of Troy. Further analysis of his character, and specifically his cooperation and confrontations with other heroes in Books 12 to 14, is given in Part 2 of my study. This part treats the final three books of the *Posthomerica*, in which the Sack of Troy is prepared, executed and celebrated. As one of the most famous events in the Trojan War saga, it has been told and retold, from various points of view. Quintus is not only squeezed between the Iliadic and the Odyssean gaze, but also invites dialogue with other famous accounts of the same event, such as those of Vergil and Triphiodorus, which I repeatedly use as material for comparison.

Chapter 5 starts after the final battle of Book 11, as the Achaeans realize that they cannot take Troy by force. Two assemblies in Book 12 therefore discuss a change of tactics. Several voices take explicit stands in a vehement debate about the appropriateness of wit and ruse (μῆτις and δόλος), the necessity of courage (θάρσος) and the promise of glory (κλέος). As it turns out, heroes with opposing talents and interests have no other choice but to join forces. Quintus uses the characters of *inter alia* Neoptolemus and Sinon first to stage an old duality between force and ruse—such as had, for example, been evoked in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Vergil's *Aeneid*—and then reconcile the two tactics in a way that does honour to both the Iliadic and the Odyssean views.

Chapter 6 then looks at how Troy is finally conquered. The Sack of Troy is a cruel event, and other narratives tend at least partially if not forcefully to condemn the so-called 'victory' of the Achaeans. Both Vergil and Triphiodorus present versions with a strong sense of pathos. Quintus' Book 13 follows this tradition. Blood, fright and ominous doom characterize several scenes of the carnage. On the other hand, the actions of the Posthomeric heroes, among them Diomedes and Neoptolemus, who both kill an old man, are still justified from a heroic point of view. For example, the question if one should heed the supplication of a helpless victim proves more hazardous than expected, and Menelaus has good reason to pursue Deiphobus in his anger. Thus, Quintus takes a remarkably ambivalent stand in the confrontation between victorious Achaeans and victimized Trojans: the latter drown in their misery, as the former act under the legitimation of their heroic aim.

In Book 14, finally, the victorious Achaeans look forward to their *nostos*. Chapter 7 discusses two important manifestations of divine power, which both significantly reflect on the heroic practice earlier in the Trojan War and in Quintus' epic. First, deified Achilles appears to Neoptolemus to give him heroic advice and claim Polyxena. This results in a human sacrifice, by means of

which the Achaeans acknowledge the divine status of their late champion—and which could be deemed a climax of the heroic code of Achilles, as his son has continued it in the second half of the *Posthomerica*. The second, seemingly unrelated event is the apocalyptic storm caused by Athena to punish Ajax Minor's sacrilege during the Sack. Here, the Olympians appear more united and powerful than ever in re-establishing the rightful order between humans and gods. Hence, the final book of the *Posthomerica* gives examples both of a deified hero and of a severely punished one. Whereas Achilles' appearance clearly looks back on his own Homeric (Iliadic) heroic practice as a mortal, the remarkably moralizing behaviour of the gods in the storm may well form a transition to the world of the *Odyssey*.

For quotes from the *Posthomerica*, I rely on Vian's Budé edition (three volumes: 1963, 1966, 1969) and the translation by James (2004, with my own comments in footnotes). For other primary texts, the quoted editions and translations are marked in bold in the second section of my bibliography.

Acknowledgements

When Hector was killed by the mighty Achilles and the *Iliad* came to its conclusion, many questions about the Trojan War remained yet unanswered. They have teased centuries of readership and challenged literature into providing answers. It has been my great privilege to dig deeper into one such text, epic in its resemblance to Homer but playfully younger, for my PhD project (dissertation defended in 2016, Ghent University) and now in this ensuing book publication. As Homer bestowed *kleos* upon Achilles and Quintus upon Homer, I would like to express my gratitude to and admiration for several people without whom I could not have completed this monograph. First and eternal thanks go to my PhD supervisor Kristoffel Demoen and my mentor Berenice Verhelst for their kind and intelligent guidance all along the way. I am also grateful to Silvio Bär, Jacqueline Klooster, Calum Maciver and Koen De Temmerman, who acted as my doctoral advisory committee and PhD jury. Their feedback has been of great value to convert my research into this publication. Two workshops on Quintus to which I was invited (London 2013 and Cambridge 2016) have proved particularly inspiring for my study. I owe thanks to their organizers and all scholars present for these valuable exchanges. Many thanks also to Brill and the anonymous peer reviewer for their help in finalizing the manuscript. The cover picture was designed by my brother Gilles Scheijnen (GS Pics). This study has been made possible by a four year PhD grant from the Special Research Fund (2012–2016) and two years' support of the European Research Council Starting Grant Novel Saints (2016–2018; grant agreement n. 337344 under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme, FP/2007–2013) at Ghent University. I have found the peace of mind to work on this story of heroic warfare in a warm academic environment, thanks to my countless Blandijn colleagues. Finally, there is home. Words alone cannot express how much the never-faltering support of my parents, siblings, grandmothers and two best friends has helped me through the years. In a world of storms and uncertainty, they are the rock I will always hold on to.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Zero to Hero[1]

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The typically Homerizing aspiration of Quintus' epic is ostentatious to such a degree that it blurs the historical origins of the epic. Today, we only have an epic text, often called *Posthomerica* and vaguely linked to the name Quintus, that seems to have been composed as a direct sequel to the *Iliad* of Homer. When, why and by whose hand, however, remain matters of discussion. In the first section of this chapter, I outline the main challenges recent Quintus scholarship faces, before defining my own focus and position in this debate in sections 1.2 and 1.3.

1.1 About the *Posthomerica*

1.1.1 *Dating Quintus*

The first name 'Quintus', based on a few late mentions of the Roman *praenomen* Κόϊντος or Κόϊντος ὁ ποιητής, has been adopted in both branches of the manuscript tradition, which, however, are dated no earlier than the 15th century CE.[2] The toponym 'of Smyrna' has been derived from the narrator's only self-reference in the twelfth book. Rather near the end of the epic, the narrator presents himself as a herdsman in the landscape near Smyrna (Q.S. 12.306–313). This has inspired (at least) Tzetzes to call the author of the *Posthomerica* Κόϊντος ὁ Σμυρναῖος (Vian 1963 T1, vii). The passage in question, however, is notable

1 "Zero to Hero"—from Disney's 'Hercules'.

2 Six times in Eustathius and twelve times in Tzetzes (full references in Vian 1963 T1, vii, n. 1 and 2). On the manuscript tradition, see Vian (ibid. xlv–liii), Keydell (1931, "B. Erzählende Epik. Quintus von Smyrna", 60–80) and Bär (2009, 23–28). On the impact of a Roman name for a Greek author in the historical context of imperial Rome, see among others Bär (2009, 11–12).

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for its complex meta-literary agenda. Smyrna is the famous *heimat* of Homer himself. Rather than claim descent from the historical town, then, Quintus' narrator seems to make Smyrna a symbol of his literary ancestry, which, as is shown below in section 1.1.2, is more complex than Homer alone.

Dating Quintus has proved equally hazardous.[3] The *Posthomerica* was known in the Byzantine era (Eustathius and Tzetzes mention it), and the transmitted manuscripts are even younger (Vian 1963 T1, xlv). Difficulties arise when we attempt to go further back in time. The Christian hexameter poem *Visio Dorothei* (a manuscript from the 4th–5th century CE), which mentions 'a' Quintus related to its author, is contested evidence.[4] Text-external evidence being rare, our options are mainly limited to scanning the epic for text-internal clues. Here, Quintus' ostentatiously Homerizing style proves to be a complicating factor. Quintus scholarship to date struggles to make sense of a few clearly Homeric anachronisms within the narrative. Much debated are Calchas' reference to the power of Rome (Q.S. 13.334–349) and the simile depicting arena games (Q.S. 6.532–537).[5] Other possible anachronisms that situate the *Posthomerica* in an era later than Homer include the recurrent traces of Stoic influence[6] and a display of remarkable medical knowledge in certain passages.[7] Such passages or traits could indeed serve as obvious *termini post quem* from a Homeric perspective, but cannot be decisive as to when the poem was actually com-

3 Detailed overviews of this quarrelsome matter are found in James & Lee (2000, 1–9), Baumbach & Bär (2007, 2–8) and Bär (2009, 14–23).

4 The text is signed with the words τέλος τῆς ὁράσεως Δωροθέου Κυΐντου ("This is the end of the Vision of Dorotheus of Quintus"). It is uncertain if this Κυΐντος has anything to do with the *Posthomerica*. Vian's comparative metrical study of the *Visio Dorothei* and the *Posthomerica* (1985) has revealed considerable differences. In any case, the text is sometimes proposed as a *terminus ante quem* for the *Posthomerica* (Bär 2009, 18–23).

5 On their value as *termini ante quem*, see e.g. James & Lee (2000, 5) against Vian (1963 T1, xxi). Further reflection is provided by Tomasso (2010, 6–8), Bär (2009, 16) and, more recently, Bärtschi (in his contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016).

6 Stoic influence in Quintus was noted and listed as early as Köchly (1850). Vian has launched the issue into modern Quintus scholarship (e.g. the *notice* to his text edition: Vian 1963 T1, xvi ff), followed by several studies by *inter alia* García Romero, Calero Secall and Toledano Vargas. For a more detailed overview of such early studies, see James & Lee (2000, 12–13) and Langella (2016, 557–558 and n. 16). Gärtner lists elements in the epic that could support—and have supported—a Stoic reading. However, she also notes that Quintus' inspiration cannot be traced back to specific philosophical treatises. Instead, the epic displays Stoic knowledge as part of a literary, poetical code (2014, 125–126). Maciver (who responded to Gärtner in his contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016) has most actively studied the literary function of Stoic elements in the epic (2007, 2012b) and even broadens his scope to other philosophical influences, such as neo-Pythagorism (2016).

7 Studied by, among others, Ozbek (2007) and Bär (2009, 273–275).

posed. Also, Quintus' use of language and metre is all but straightforward in this respect: the epic's Homer-imitating, archaizing style ("koinè homérisant": Vian 1963 T1, xli) seems to ignore certain later (Hellenistic) evolutions,[8] although it is not entirely free from later influences.[9] Various literary, intertextual analyses point in the same direction. In relative chronology, it is nowadays more or less established that Quintus predates Nonnus of Panopolis (5th century CE),[10] but (likely) writes later than Oppian (2nd century CE),[11] and is thus to be situated in Late Antiquity. A third text often considered in relation to Quintus is the epyllion *Sack of Ilion* of Triphiodorus, an author which in all likelihood is to be situated in the same literary tradition as Quintus, although it is far from certain who preceded whom.[12] All of this has, if not entirely erased the question mark, certainly narrowed down the wide scope of suggested dates, which originally ranged from the 6th century CE to (unconvincing) contemporariness with the Homeric epics (Vian 1963 T1, xix). Nowadays, the *Posthomerica*

8 James & Lee (2000, 21–30) and Bär (2009, 48, 53–69) give extensive overviews of Quintus' language use and earlier studies on the matter (e.g. Köchly 1850 and Appel 1994b on Homeric language).

9 Constantinus Lascaris was the first to suggest a date of composition from the time of the Roman Empire (Tomasso 2010, 5). In 1805, Hermann noted that the epic must have been written (not long) before Nonnus (Vian 1963 T1, xix), since Quintus is apparently not influenced by the latter's metrical innovations (Bär 2009, 15; Tomasso 2010, 6 on how this assumption can be misleading). Chrysafis (1985) and Giangrande (1986) were among the first to focus on the (post-)Hellenistic innovations in the *Posthomerica*. Since then, Quintus' language has gradually come to be perceived as both Homerizing and post-Hellenistic (e.g. Appel on the question of the "interpretatio Homeri bei den späteren Dichtern": 1994c). Bär provides a convincing synthesis of centuries of linguistic Quintus research: based on a study of Homeric repetitivity and singularity in the *Posthomerica*, he reveals a tension between Quintus' 'quasi-homeric' and 'quasi-alexandrian' practice (2009, 53–69; including lists of Quintus' *Iteratverse* and *hapax* and *dis legomena*: ibid. 558–580).

10 Despite continued uncertainty about their literary connection, both epics have often been studied in relation to each other. Vian gives a list of literary 'imitations' of the *Posthomerica* in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (1963 T1, xix–xx, n. 4). Hadjittofi (2007) and Shorrock (2007) find a common ground between the two epics arguable, at least as far as their literary background is concerned. Other studies include Newbold (on expressiveness: 1992), Wenglinsky (on the *theomachy*: 2002, 192), Maciver (on the proem of both epics: 2012b, 28) and Mazza (on shield *ekphraseis*: 2014, 19–22).

11 This argument is based on only three brief, supposedly intertextual passages (full references in James & Lee 2000, 6; see also Carvounis 2005, 10–11). As a result, Oppian's value as *terminus post quem* is nowadays again questioned (Maciver 2012c, 53 n. 2).

12 For Triphiodorus' much debated date and the consensus to place him in the 3rd century CE, see Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 4–6). Maciver assumes Quintus is Triphiodorus' "immediate predecessor" (forthcoming in *Classical Philology*). More on the chronological relationship to Quintus in section 1.3.1.

is generally accepted to date from the 3rd century CE, during imperial antiquity and—according to some—in the literary context of the Second Sophistic (Bär 2009, 23; discussed below).

1.1.2 *The Epic in a Nutshell*

More than one title circulates for Quintus' epic. The most ancient attestations of the words τὰ μετὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον or τὰ μεθ' Ὅμηρον ("the things after Homer", "what comes after Homer") in a Homeric *scholion* and in Eustathius have found their way into the manuscript tradition and thus inspired the Latin translation *Posthomerica* in later times.[13] Those modern scholars who do not use the Latin title have translated it in various (more and less literal) ways: as "La suite d'Homère" (Vian 1963), "Il seguito dell'Iliade" (Lelli ed. 2013), or more freely "The Fall of Troy" (Way 1913), "De val van Troje" (Hartkamp 2000–2001), "Der Untergang Trojas" (Gärtner 2010) or simply "The Trojan Epic" (James 2004). Combellack goes as far as "What Homer Did Not Tell" (1986).[14] This title rather accurately refers to the contents of the epic. In fourteen books of 'Iliadic length',[15] the *Posthomerica* gives an account of the events between Hector's burial and the scattering of the Achaean fleet on their way home. The first five books focus on the final deeds and death of Achilles and Ajax Major. Achilles fights off the Amazon Queen Penthesilea in Book 1 and Eos' son Memnon in Book 2 before dying in Book 3. Ajax Major takes a prominent place in the battle around Achilles' body, his funeral games (Book 4) and the judgment of arms, which in turn leads to Ajax's insanity and suicide in Book 5. The next three books introduce a new pair of battlefield champions: Heracles' grandson Eurypylus on the Trojan side (Book 6) and Achilles' son Neoptolemus for the Achaeans (Book 7). After the latter's victory in Book 8, one final hero is brought (back) to Troy: Philoctetes arrives in Book 9, killing Paris in Book 10. After a final

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13 Vian (1963 T1, vii–viii). Full references to the *scholion* in Bär (2009, 11 n. 5). More recent discussion of the title in the manuscript tradition is provided by Cerri (2015, 130–131). Appel makes a critical study of the transmission of this title and considers the possibility of the variant οἵ μεθ Ὅμηρον λόγοι (1994a), which could serve as an argument for his analytic theory about Quintus' composition (discussed in section 1.3.2).

14 More extensive lists of translations can be found in the bibliography of Vian 1959 (8–9) and Appel (1994a, 3). One remarkably interpretative title of the *Posthomerica* (a Polish translation by the hand of Przybylski, 1815), reads as "Dopełnienie Iliady Kwintowskie Ku Czci Bohatyrów Rozburzycielów Ilijonu W Spiewach Czternastu", which Appel renders as "Le complément de l'Iliade écrit par Quintus en l'honneur des héros destructeurs d'Ilion en quatorze chants" (1987, 251 n. 5).

15 The longest book (*Posthomerica* 1) numbers 830 lines; Book 10 is the shortest, with 489 lines. The calculated average length of a book in the *Posthomerica* is 627 lines.

(and indecisive) round of battle around the city walls in *Posthomerica* 11, the Achaeans decide to change tactics. In Book 12, the Trojan Horse is built, which leads to the Sack of the city in Book 13. The epic ends with the celebration of the victorious Achaeans and their return home, which dramatically ends in an apocalyptic storm in Book 14.

Scholars have shown great interest in the possible relation of the Epic Cycle—in Quintus' era supposedly (nearly?) lost—and the *Posthomerica*, which to a large extent treats the same story material. It has been assumed that Quintus envisaged replacing or preserving the stories of the disappearing Cycle.[16] However, it remains uncertain if Quintus knew the Cycle at all (e.g. West 2013, 50). Our own, limited knowledge of the Cycle renders this discussion even more difficult. We can only observe partial and possible matches between the summaries of the Cycle and the *Posthomerica*,[17] but such an approach provides insufficient information to fully discuss the possibility of literary influence.[18] Therefore, modern scholarship has become resigned to its ignorance on the matter. Instead, Bär proposes to focus on the fact that Quintus is certainly embedded in a broader popular tradition of Homer imitation (2009, 78–84; see also Carvounis 2005, 16–19).

The *Posthomerica* perfectly fills the chronological gap between the end of the *Iliad* and the beginning of the *Odyssey*. The introduction to Quintus' epic unmistakeably establishes this chronological continuity, while at the same time presenting it as potentially problematic:[19]

16 This was generally accepted until Köchly (references in Baumbach & Bär 2015, 607 n. 11), after which the debate became more polemic. Still in favour was Mansur, who even suggested that the Cycle was a common source for both Homer and Quintus (1940, 42–55). Also older studies of (especially) the first books of the *Posthomerica* consider the Epic Cycle as an important source (e.g. the work of Sodano), and later on e.g. García Romero (1986, 109). Cerri takes up the thread of this discussion by investigating how Quintus' Homer reworking may tie in with Aristoteles' criticism (2015).

17 Vian indicates several passages where the narrative clearly differs from the cyclic version (1963 T1, xxviii–xxix; more details in his *Notices* to each book and in his 1959 study), especially the *Ilias Parva* and the *Ilioupersis*, but to a lesser extent the *Aethiopis* (see also Schubert 1996 and Horsfall 2004). Still, our means for comparison are highly limited, as notes Horsfall: "There is no solid evidence whatever for how Penthesilea was represented in the *Aethiopis*" (2004, 74). James and Lee share Vian's vision (2000, 7–8).

18 Tomasso argues against such a factual comparison: "Clearly, Quintus negotiates Homeric tradition in complex ways that are not always obvious to modern readers, and we should expect his treatment of the Cycle to be no less complex" (2010, 11). This assertion is again problematized by Baumbach and Bär (2015, 613–614), and so the polemic goes on. The study of Baumbach and Bär provides a recent overview of the debate and an extensive list of differences between the Cycle and the *Posthomerica* (606–614).

19 On this passage, see recently Bär (2009, 139–166) and Maciver (2012b, 27–33, 130–132).

Εὖθ’[20] ὑπὸ Πηλείωνι δάμη θεοείκελος Ἕκτωρ
καί ἑ πυρὴ κατέδαψε καὶ ὀστέα γαῖα κεκεύθει,
δὴ τότε Τρῶες ἔμιμνον ἀνὰ Πριάμοιο πόληα
δειδιότες μένος ἠὺ θρασύφρονος Αἰακίδαο·
ἠύτ’ ἐνὶ ξυλόχοισι βόες βλοσυροῖο λέοντος
ἐλθέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐναντίαι, ἀλλὰ φέβονται
ἰληδὸν πτώσσουσαι ἀνὰ ῥωπήια πυκνά·
ὣς οἳ ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον ὑπέτρεσαν ὄβριμον ἄνδρα,
μνησάμενοι προτέρων ὁπόσων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἴαψε
θύων Ἰδαίοιο περὶ προχοῇσι Σκαμάνδρου,
ἠδ’ ⟨ὀπ⟩όσους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ μέγα τεῖχος ὄλεσσεν,
Ἕκτορά θ’ ὡς ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀμφείρυσσε πόληι,
ἄλλους θ’ οὓς ἐδάιξε δι’ ἀκαμάτοιο θαλάσσης,
ὁππότε δὴ τὰ πρῶτα φέρεν Τρώεσσιν ὄλεθρον.
Τῶν οἵ γε μνησθέντες ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον ἔμιμνον·
ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄρά σφισι πένθος ἀνιηρὸν πεπότητο
ὡς ἤδη στονόεντι καταιθομένης πυρὶ Τροίης.

Q.S. 1.1–17

Hector the equal of gods had been killed by the son of Peleus.
Consumed by the funeral pyre, his bones were under the ground.
The Trojans stayed inside the city of Priam,
Fearing the force of Aeacus’ dauntless grandson.
As cattle in a wood refuse to go
And face a fearsome lion, taking fright
They huddle together among the densest thickets,
So in their city the Trojans shrank from the man of might,
Mindful of those he had robbed of breath before,
Amok by the banks of Scamander the river of Ida,
Of those he had slaughtered in flight below their lofty walls,
Of Hector killed by him and dragged round the city,
Of those he had slain upon the restless sea,
The time he first brought death to the people of Troy.
All these memories made them stay in the city.
Over and around them hovered pain and sorrow,
As though already Troy on fire was groaning.

20 James has left εὖθ’ untranslated. On the peculiarity of this word to open an epic, see footnote 22.

The fact that the epic starts *in medias res*, without an invocation of the Muses, has puzzled earlier scholarship and seems hardly appropriate for an epic that is so obviously inspired by Homer.[21] However, this technique also ensures a challenging (Baumbach 2007, 107) and programmatic opening, which invites the reader to understand the epic as literally *post Homerum*—or rather *post Iliadem*.[22] This may well be the strongest paradox in the proem: in order to follow more closely upon the end of the *Iliad*, Quintus skips the ultra-Homeric tradition of the Muse invocation.[23] Throughout the proem, references to the *Iliad* and Homeric techniques are repeatedly used to underline continuity *and* introduce a new beginning: Quintus' epic is literally born from the immediate Iliadic past (Bär 2016, 217). The first verse re-introduces the most important rivals of the *Iliad*. Quintus needs no more than five words to summarize the major encounter between—significantly—"the son of Peleus" Achilles and θεοείκελος Hector (Maciver 2012b, 32 and n. 119). Still shaken from the final events of the *Iliad*, the Trojans now cower within the city walls. Their fear of Achilles is illustrated and underlined in a first Homeric simile. Unlike the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where the first extended simile[24] does not occur before Books 2 (lines 87–93) and 4 (335–340) respectively, Quintus' first book, even his first lines, begins with a simile. This could serve as an argument for the narrative continuity between the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*, or even suggest that *Posthomerica* 1 is actually the 25th book of the *Iliad*.[25] The ensuing focalization of certain Trojan memories of Achilles' anger enhances this sense of continuity. Enclosed by two forms of the verb μιμνήσκω (μνησάμενοι in line 9 and μνησθέντες in line 15), the Trojans recall the hero's plunders on his way to Troy,

21 For Appel, it was one more argument to support his analytical thesis about the *Posthomerica* (1994a, 6), about which more in section 1.3.2.

22 Εὖθ', quite unusual as the first word in an epic, can indicate the resumption of a previous story (Bouvier 2005, 43–44) and the linking of two narratives (Maciver 2012b, 30). For a detailed study of this particular instance of εὖθ', see also Tomasso (2010, 49–55). On the functionality of this direct transition from *Iliad* to *Posthomerica*, see Schenk (1997, 377–378; ibid. n. 25 for an overview of earlier debates on this matter) and, in a comparative analysis with the proems of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and Triphiodorus, Maciver (2012b, 27–29).

23 "Proems are Homeric because they are proems, and not Homeric because they show in what ways the poems they introduce will differ from Homer" (Maciver 2012b, 27).

24 For my use of simile terminology, see section 1.3.4.

25 Bär (2009, 151–152; see also Tomasso 2010, 51). Quintus uses straightforward images for both Achilles and his victims. Achilles is compared to a lion in e.g. *Iliad* 18.318–323, 20.164–175, 24.41–45 and 572, and in *Posthomerica* 1.586–587, 3.142–148, 170–176, 276 and 497. The cow is a frequent image in both Homeric and Quintian similes (see repeatedly in the next chapters). Maciver discusses how this image is unhomeric as well (2012b, 130).

his great slaughter at the river Scamander, how he killed Hector and dragged his body around the city. All of these events happen or are referred to in the *Iliad*. A prominent place is given to Achilles' rage (and Scamander's revolt) in *Iliad* 21 and to the defeat of Hector in *Iliad* 22, key elements from which this new epic will have to start. However, Quintus' particular description of these events also challenges the reader's knowledge of the *Iliad*, for example in the verb ἀμφείρυσσε (line 12): whereas more recent versions of the myth mention a trail around the city walls,[26] Homer's Achilles only drags Hector to the Achaean camp and around Patroclus' tomb.[27] Quintus thus reveals that his extremely Homeric style is also spiced with other influences. Line 17 wraps up these Homeric recollections and turns them into a vivid starting point for Quintus' own narration. In despair of a new champion, the Trojans mourn as if Troy were already on fire.[28] In the literary tradition, Hector's death has been associated with the end of Troy ever since *Iliad* 22.410–411. Thus, line 17 makes an implicit reference to line 1, highlighting with this chiastic composition that the first 17 verses of the *Posthomerica* are indeed a composed proem to the epic (Bär 2009, 163).[29] This proem has a clear introductory function, providing a literary synthesis of Trojan despair since the *Iliad* and thus enabling the prompt appearance of a first candidate to replace Hector in line 18. Moreover, it introduces one of the most significant narrative motifs that will be developed throughout the epic: the notion of the impending doom of Troy, perhaps the most important episode that needs to be told in the *Posthomerica* (Duckworth 1936, 75–76). As a whole, the proem underlines Quintus' strong adherence to Homer (in narration and style; see also Bär 2009, 143) while, simultaneously, sketching the contours within which the *Posthomerica* will develop as a new, independent epic. Hence, the reader may get the impression that a 'new Homer' is at work;[30] 'Homer', because of his most obvious inspiration, and 'new', since Quintus will go further.

The complexity of Quintus' literary agenda becomes clear in another key passage that is often cited in introductions to editions and studies of the

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26 E.g. Euripides' *Andromache* 107–108 and Vergil's *Aeneid* 1.483–484 (Bär 2009, 158–159).

27 *Iliad* 22.395–404, 463–465 and 24.14–21 (James 2004, 269).

28 Thus, the memory is both a flashback to the *Iliad* and a foreshadowing of the future events (Bär 2009, 141 and Maciver 2012b, 131–132).

29 Also line 15 made a double cross-reference to earlier verses. It concludes both the Trojan focalization (μνησθέντες echoes line 9, μνησάμενοι) and the explanation of why the Trojans stay cowering within the city walls (ἔμιμνον echoes line 3, ἔμιμνον).

30 Bär suggests that the implied author of the new epic could be understood as Homer (2009, 144). On Quintus' tendency towards *aemulatio*, or *imitatio cum variatione*, see Bär (2007 39–40) and Zanusso (2014). See also Maciver (2012b, 29).

Posthomerica. Significantly, it also contains the only clue to the identity of the narrator *and* the only Muse invocation of the *Posthomerica*. This in-proem, as it is sometimes called, is iconic for the epic's poetics:[31]

> Τούς μοι νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνειρομένῳ σάφα, Μοῦσαι,
> ἔσπεθ' ὅσοι κατέβησαν ἔσω πολυχανδέος ἵππου·
> ὑμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσάν μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θήκατ' ἀοιδήν,
> πρίν μοι ⟨ἔτ'⟩ ἀμφὶ παρειὰ κατασκίδνασθαι ἴουλον,
> Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι περικλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι
> τρὶς τόσον Ἕρμου ἄπωθεν ὅσον βοόωντος ἀκοῦσαι,
> Ἀρτέμιδος περὶ νηὸν Ἐλευθερίῳ ἐνὶ κήπῳ,
> οὔρεϊ οὔτε λίην χθαμαλῷ οὔθ' ὑψόθι πολλῷ.
>
> Q.S. 12.306–313

> Muses, I ask you to tell me precisely, one by one,
> The names of all who went inside the capacious horse.
> You were the ones who filled my mind with poetry,
> Even before the down was spread across my cheeks,
> When I was tending my noble sheep in the land of Smyrna,
> Three times as far as shouting distance from Hermus,
> Near Artemis' temple, in the Garden of Liberty,
> On a hill that is not particularly high or low.

The tendency to understand this passage as a literal biographical claim—which, as recalled above, has resulted in calling Quintus 'of Smyrna' long ago—has given way to a more convincing focus on its rich literary references and (meta-)literary symbolism.[32] The city of Smyrna itself has considerable literary significance, since several biographies mention it as Homer's home-

31 See most recently Bär (2007) and Maciver (2012b, 33–38 and 2012c, 65–66), as well as Tomasso's dissertation chapter on the Muses in the *Posthomerica* (2010, chapter 1) and Greensmith (2018 forthcoming).

32 "Any attempts to read the biographical in these lines makes a mockery of the sophistication, learning and allusiveness of the piece" (Maciver 2012b, 36). The supposed accuracy of the geographical descriptions in this passage and elsewhere in the epic was mentioned as an argument of the 'literal believers' (see e.g. James 2004, xviii and Vian 1963 T1, x; Keydell 1963 explicitly supposes autopsy; Bär 2009, 13 gives an overview of this tendency in older Quintus research). On the 'utopic' impression of the Smyrnean environment as a return to the illustrious world of Homeric epic, see Bär (2007, 56). On the choice of river Hermes over river Meles, on the other hand, see Bär (ibid.) and differently Tomasso (2010, 112 n. 249).

town.[33] Quintus' claim to originate from (near) the same legendary place enhances his authority as a Homeric poet, or, again, a *Homerus novus* (Bär 2007, 61 and 2009, 12–13). On the other hand, Smyrna also represented the cultural heart of the Second Sophistic in the imperial era.[34] In this regard, the verse "on a hill that is not particularly high or low" has, perhaps unsurprisingly, been interpreted as a reference to the rhetorical register of the *Posthomerica*.[35] The mention of the Garden of Liberty in the previous verse, however, also seems to underline the literary freedom the narrator assumes in his own narrative. His persona of the herdsman is literally and metaphorically situated in an environment that combines various influences and evokes a dialogue between traditions. The allusion to Homer's legendary life has already been mentioned. Homer's echoes also resound in the position of Quintus' Muse invocation at the introduction of his catalogue of heroes, which establishes a strong link to the invocation in *Iliad* 2.484–492, before the catalogue of ships (Bär 2007, 41–45).[36] The narrator's presence in a pastoral scene evoking inspiration, on the

33 E.g. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (9), *Vita Herodotea* (19, 21, 36, 57, 94, 95, 178, 546), *Plutarchi Vita* (17), *Vita Proclea* (12, 14), *Vita Quarta* (7, 16), *Vita Quinta* (3), *Tzetzae Vita* (630), *Sudae Vita* (1, 13, 17, 24, 25, 27). Although some of these attestations leave room for other speculations, one of the most common legends connects Homer's origin to the river Meles in Smyrna (one of the options in *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 18–53; *Vita Sexta* 28–29 states that river Meles is most likely his father; *Vita Herodotea* unambiguously chooses Smyrna as Homer's birthplace). The river might have been his father (married to Critheis in *Vita Quarta* 2; he is the most likely candidate in a long list of possible fathers in *Vita Sexta* 25–31; Phemius is mentioned as his (adoptive) father in *Vita Herodotea* 36–53 and *Plutarchi Vita* 17, and Maion in e.g. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 52–53; *Sudae Vita* 7–14 provides a long list of mainly legendary ancestors, such as Telemachus, Nestor, Apollo and the Muses) or the place where his mother (most often Critheis, e.g. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 10; Critheis or Hyrnetho in *Vita Sexta* 27) gave birth to him (e.g. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 9–10 and *Sudae Vita* 22–24). This would then have resulted in his original name 'Melesigenes', which was later changed to 'Homer' because of either his blindness (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 11, *Vita Herodotea* 163–166, *Plutarchi Vita* 21, *Vita Proclea* 19–21, *Vita Quarta* 4–6 and *Vita Sexta* 41–44) or the fact that he became a political hostage at some point in his life (of Chios, *Vita Proclea* 17–19; of "the king", *Vita Sexta* 44–45; or in the war with the Colophians, *Sudae Vita* 25–29). All references according to Allen [1912] 1969.

34 Bär (2007, 54). Some take the reference to the fields 'near' Smyrna as a literal meta-literary claim of distancing (Tomasso 2010, 110–113). For the historical impact of imperial Smyrna, see Cantilena (2001, 53–55).

35 "The latter detail is a reference to his adoption of the 'middle style', neither sublime nor pedestrian" (Hopkinson 1996, 1253). This argument is extended and critically discussed by e.g. Bär (2007, 59–60, followed by Cerri 2015) and Maciver (2012b, 35–36).

36 In addition to the Muse invocation and the catalogue, the *Posthomerica* contains ample typically Homeric scenes, including funeral games, shield *ekphraseis* and a *theomachy*. None of these features can be regarded as fully or only Homeric in inspiration. See, among

other hand, finds clear precedents in the *Theogony* (22–28) and Callimachus' reference to this Hesiodic scene in his own dream (Bär 2007, 51).[37] The 'window reference'[38] in the phrase περικλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι (Q.S. 12.310) is, according to Maciver, programmatic for the poetics of the epic (Maciver 2012b, 34–36). Περικλυτὰ has the intensified meaning of 'famous' or 'exceedingly heard of', not only implying that the sheep herded by this narrator stem from a rich literary tradition but perhaps also suggesting a certain superiority of Quintus' new text (Maciver 2012b, 37 and 2012c, 65–66).[39] Together, these compact references illustrate how the *Posthomerica* reads Homer with later eyes (Bär 2007, 50 and Maciver 2012b, 35). After decades of deep and deeper digging into this conspicuously intertextual passage, Greensmith has proposed reading the Alexandrian references as an anti-Alexandrian statement of Quintus' Homeric poetics (2018 forthcoming).

1.1.3 *The Path of Scholarship*

Quintus' ambivalent position between Homer and later traditions[40] is at the very heart of the blooming fascination with and interest in Quintus in recent scholarship. The *Posthomerica* has long been read as primarily a sequel to Homer. One could even assume that this is why the epic has been transmitted to us (Vian 1963 T1, xxv). In some manuscripts, the *Posthomerica* is physically placed between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[41] In the Byzantine era, the *Posthome-*

others, Baumbach (2007, 139–141: on Ps-Hesiod's *Aspis* for the three Posthomeric *ekphraseis*) and Carvounis (2008, 61–66: on the gods in Quintus' *theomachy*; more on the remarkable appropriation of the Homeric divine in Quintus by Wenglinsky 2002, 192 and Bär 2016).

37 For a detailed overview of these three intertextual references, see Bär (2007, 41–51); on the combination of Homer and Hesiod in this passage, also Tomasso (2010, 22). Cerri suggest a link to the proem of the *Argonautica* (2015, 144–145).

38 "The very close adaptation of a model, noticeably interrupted in order to allow reference back to the source of that model" (Maciver 2012c, 65–66, adopting Thomas' 1986 term).

39 Greensmith has recently suggested an additional reference to the κλυτὰ μῆλα of Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 9.308. She investigates the in-proem as "a provocative rejection of Callimachean aesthetics" and a defence of the Homeric epic (2018 forthcoming).

40 Bär has proposed the sociopsychological concept of 'cognitive dissonance' as a new approach to the constant tension between "the poem's implicit claim to Homeric authorship and its decided belatedness" (2016, 216).

41 Full references in Vian (1963 T1, xxv n. 1). Also, Cerri strongly believes that Quintus' epic was explicitly intended to be placed between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, perhaps even in libraries (2015, 140–142). Given Homer's continuous popularity throughout antiquity, some scholars have suggested that Quintus' epic may well have contributed to the educational system ("une oeuvre scolaire": Vian 1963 T1, xxxv–xlii; see also Carvounis on the influence of Homeric reading aids: 2005, 37–64), or have been composed for agonistic pur-

rica was used as a source by Eustathius and Tzetzes in their own narratives about the Trojan War. Baumbach and Bär give a neat overview of the 'revival' of Quintus' epic in manuscripts from the 15th century onwards (2007b, 15–23). Particularly interesting in this respect is the following citation of Constantius Lascaris:

> Ποιητὴς ἄριστος ἐγένετο καὶ μέγιστος ζηλωτὴς τοῦ Ὁμήρου πάντ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρυσάμενος (…). Ὁμηρικώτατος δὲ γενόμενος ἠθέλησε τὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ παραλελειμμένα τῆς Ἰλιάδος Ὁμηρικῶς ποιῆσαι.[42]
>
> He was an excellent poet and a great adept of Homer, who formed his main source of inspiration (…). Being 'quite Homeric', Quintus wanted to render what Homer had left untold in the *Iliad* in a Homeric way.

This appreciation for the 'very Homeric' aspects of the work[43] lived on through the Renaissance and even up to the 19th century.[44] For the better part of its recorded life, the *Posthomerica* has thus been transmitted and appreciated primarily as a sequel to Homer. As the 20th century approached, however, Quintus scholarship took a new turn, and the aspect of Homer imitation became subject to criticism. This led to a more varied, often negative evaluation of the work.[45] Judged in direct comparison to Homer and other classical sources such as Vergil, the verdict was inevitably a shameful defeat for Quintus. Many 20th century scholars thus deprecated the *Posthomerica* as unoriginal and inferior to its models, even if Vian finds some aspects of the poem 'forgivable', precisely because of their strictly Homeric character (Vian 1963 T1, xxv). This premise of model and imitation has thoroughly influenced scholarship of the early 20th century. Mansur's comparison of heroes in Homer and Quintus, for example, accordingly omits all characters that do not prominently figure in Homer. Fur-

poses (Appel 1994a, 9–12; on orality also Cantilena 2001, Tomasso 2010, 14–15 and Bugin 2014).

42 The full Greek citation (Köchly 1850) with German translation can be found in Bär (2009, 25).

43 Lascaris refers to an all-round Homerism, including style, vocabulary and various narrative techniques.

44 For Quintus' reception in these early periods, see Baumbach & Bär (2007, 15–23). For a state of Quintus scholarschip in late 19th and most of the 20th century, see Bär (2009, 29–33). A new *Forschungsbericht* of the same scholar and Valentina Zanusso is, to my knowledge, in progress.

45 Baumbach & Bär (2007, 20). Schmidt thoroughly addresses these negative judgments (1999).

thermore, the *Posthomerica* has been subject to various source criticism studies (e.g. various contributions by Sodano). This tendency was continued by Vian (1959 and later studies) in the second half of the 20th century.

With Francis Vian, we also reach the scholar most influential in modern Quintus studies. Besides several other publications on Quintus, his text edition in *Les Belles Lettres*, complete with detailed *Notices* and notes on the text, is still considered the standard edition of the *Posthomerica*. In his eyes, the *Posthomerica* ties in with the poetical tendency of the 3rd century to reproduce or rework Homer (1963 T1, xxiii–xxiv). Rather than as a slavish imitation of its main model, he understands the *Posthomerica* as the product of an eclecticism of Greek sources. This viewpoint recurs throughout his many studies from 1959 onward, until Vian himself switches perspectives and makes a more thorough literary examination of Hellenistic influences on the *Posthomerica* for a new companion to Apollonius (Vian 2001). In the Latin debate, however, he has always taken a sceptical stand against Rudolf Keydell's studies, which argue in favour of direct Latin influence on Quintus.[46] This Latin question has dominated Quintus research for the better part of fourteen years and still has found no conclusive answer today.[47] These studies pay little attention to the literary character of the epic and do not greatly stimulate research regarding Quintus' literary individuality, as can be seen in the continued negative accounts of Mehler (1961) and Campbell's rather grumpy commentary on Book 12 (1981).[48] Significantly, Schmidt entitled his paper "Quintus von Smyrna—der schlechteste Dichter des Altertums?" in an attempt to counter this negative movement and reconsider Quintus as a creditable interpreter of the tradition (1999).

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46 See e.g. Keydell's publications in 1949–1950 ("Seneca und Cicero bei Quintus von Smyrna") and 1954 ("Quintus von Smyrna und Vergil").

47 Carvounis has explored the available sources about contemporary education, in an attempt to answer the question of whether Quintus could possibly have known any Latin and thus had direct access to Latin literature (2005, 16–28; 28–36 for a case on Aeolus and the Cave of the Winds). Tomasso more broadly underlines the Roman context, both literary and historical, in which Quintus must have been embedded (2010, 122–123). The possibility of concrete influence is explored by e.g. Kopff (1981). James stresses that this investigation is often influenced by subjectivity and cultural context (2007). The most extensive study on the topic thus far, by Gärtner on Quintus and Vergil, adds little conclusive evidence (2005). More and more, however, recent scholarship is loath to explicitly exclude Latin sources, mainly Ovid (e.g. James & Lee 2000, 80 ff.) and Vergil's *Aeneid*, from new studies (e.g. Carvounis' forthcoming commentary, Ozbek forthcoming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* and Bärtschi's contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016; a more extensive list is available in footnote 87).

48 West's aspiration to have written some "last notes on Quintus of Smyrna" in 1986 sounds rather pessimistic in this respect.

More probing studies remain scarce until the 1980s. Bär (2009, 48–49) indicates a shift around this period, when research by Giangrande and Chrysafis takes a leap forward and starts focusing on Quintus' innovative use of Homeric language. This has opened the way to both a wide range of studies considering Quintus' position between tradition and innovation[49] and to several new translations, which were published in a relatively short period of time.[50] The year 2006, however, formed a real turning point in Quintus scholarship, and set into motion the current wave of publications. The 2006 international conference "Quintus Smyrnaeus—ein kaiserzeitlicher Sophist im homerischen Gewand" and its proceedings *Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic* (edited by Baumbach & Bär, 2007a) have truly initiated the new tendency towards investigating Quintus with reference to his own time and literary era. The way in which Quintus adopted and adapted the (Homeric) tradition was inevitably influenced by Quintus' own cultural context. The introduction to the conference proceedings inquires:

> Could scholarship on Quintus benefit from the results gained by exploring the Second Sophistic? Would a closer link of the *Posthomerica* to the Second Sophistic open new horizons for the evaluation of the end of this period? And which 'Quintean' means of transforming Homer can be found in other literary works of this epic?
>
> BAUMBACH & BÄR 2007b, 25

Whereas this conference and volume postulate the Second Sophistic as this cultural framework, Carvounis and Hunter later adopt a broader focus and consider the *Posthomerica* in the context of Late Antiquity in general (2009). All in all, this new perspective has led to a more positive approach to the *Posthomerica*. Bär has convincingly revealed the different layers of the epic, which could each appeal to a different type of audience: the *Posthomerica* can be read by a broad public, interested in Greek poetry and the (Homeric) Trojan War narratives, whereas ample subtleties regarding literary reception can only be appre-

49 The late eighties through to the new millennium saw the publication of *inter alia* several studies by García Romero (on mythological, Stoic, biblical traditions), Appel (e.g. on Homeric *hapax* and *dis legomena*), Fernández Contreras (expressive silence and joy) and Calero Secall (epithets and various character studies), Newbold (on Quintus and Nonnus: 1992) and Schenk (on the narrative structure of the epic: 1997). This tendency has continued in the nearly two decades since, when the list grows too extensive for a footnote.

50 Including Hartkamp (parts of Book 1 in Dutch: 2000), James (in English, with a global commentary: 2004), Gärtner (in German: 2010), Lelli (in Italian: ed. 2013) and Maciver (in English: forthcoming in the series edited by Miguélez-Cavero).

ciated by a more learned public of πεπαιδευμένοι. Bär's specific focus on the Second Sophistic as the ideal 'Rezeptionshorizont' for the *Posthomerica* (2009, 89–90; also 2010), has in turn been refuted by Maciver (who also took part in the above-mentioned conference):

> The *Posthomerica* as a whole cannot be a Second Sophistic epic by rights of what the Second Sophistic entails. (…) Quintus certainly receives Homer within a cultural and literary context bound up with Second Sophistic declamatory practice, but he is not constructing a Second Sophistic epic.
>
> MACIVER 2012a, 607

Hence, a new controversy was born in Quintus scholarship. Whether Quintus can be deemed part of the Second Sophistic or a product of Late Antiquity, the *Posthomerica* not only had at its disposal a wide diachronic and synchronic range of sources, but was also presumably stimulated by the spirit of its own age to put all of this to use in innovative ways. This insight has particularly been triggered in the last few decades of Quintus research. Quintus' 'lateness' serves as one of the starting points of Maciver's monograph (2012b, 15). Together with the dissertations of Carvounis (2005, to be published soon in the form of a commentary) and Tomasso (2010, available online),[51] which follow the same course, Bär and Maciver are exponents of the new tendency to read the *Posthomerica* as an epic in its own right, at the juncture of a diachronic and a synchronic literary tradition. With them, many other Quintus scholars are now going down that road, including myself.[52]

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51 I would like to thank both scholars for kindly providing me with copies of their unpublished dissertations.

52 Generally, the 2006 conference has been a great boost for Quintus popularity. Many of its participants have broadly published on his epic since, and the flame has been kept alive during the "Academic Workshop of Imperial Greek Epic" (London 2013), followed by the workshop "Writing Homer Under Rome: Quintus of Smyrna's Posthomerica" (Cambridge 2016). Quintus is now broadly accepted and studied as an imperial epic poet of Late Antiquity, which also ensures his place in the corpus of the "Walking the Wire: Latin and Greek Late Antique Poetry in Dialogue" (ongoing international research project, coordinated by Berenice Verhelst and Tine Scheijnen: http://www.latijnengrieks.ugent.be/walkingthewire).

1.2 Focus: Homeric Heroes and Heroism

Ostentatiously, Quintus inscribes his poem in the Homeric world of epic warfare, which hallows a certain set of heroic beliefs that guide the choices, actions and words of the participating heroes. However, while other inspirational frameworks in the *Posthomerica*, such as the role of divinities and Fate,[53] or the possibility of Stoic inspirations,[54] have explicitly been studied in the *Posthomerica*, this Homeric heroic code is mostly overlooked or taken for granted.[55] It is one of the aims of this book to fill this lacuna.

1.2.1 *Definition?*

However universal it may seem, the notion of 'heroism' has known as many definitions as it has had faces throughout history. Heroes have always been part of our popular culture, literature and other media, and even our daily lives. Still, it is hard to say exactly what Achilles, Robin Hood, Catwoman and Lassie have in common with the men who prevented the attack on a Thalys train in France in August 2015.[56] There is no diachronic prototype of 'the hero', and synchronically the notion can differ considerably between traditions, or even

53 E.g. Wenglinksy (2002), Gärtner (2007) and Maciver (Quintus Workshop 2016) against Gärtner (2014).

54 Maciver shows how these later influences are inextricably entwined with the narrative that Quintus construes, e.g. in his gnomes, similes and the allegory of Mount Arete. He concludes that "Quintus appropriates the *Iliad* as a Stoic epic" (2007, 2012b, 2016; 2012b, 194 for the citation). If anything, these studies indicate that tensions exist within the *Posthomerica* between Homeric and later-than-Homeric influences on the ideological level (see also Tomasso 2010, 171–173). This reflection is elaborated in chapter 7 and the conclusion.

55 Kneebone makes intriguing first observations in her 2007 article. One other study that must be mentioned here—and will be taken into account and discussed frequently in the following chapters—is Boyten's 2010 dissertation (and 2007 article based on the same material). Boyten proposes the first *Studies in the Reception of the Hero and Heroism* in Quintus. His approach, however, lacks a coherent vision on 'Homeric heroism' to start with, and is focused mostly on character case studies that are embedded in an overarching (and—as I will argue below—in my opinion not very convincing) meta-literary interpretation of the epic. Hence, despite his suggestive title and a certain overlap in our research material, our approaches decisively differ.

56 I have chosen these examples because they tally with a few (quite diverse) notions of 'heroism' such as seem to form *communis opinio* in my time, space and culture—or have been propagated as such in the media. However, it should be noted that from another perspective, entirely different examples may more promptly come to mind, or even critical remarks about my attribution of the word 'hero' to these specific characters and persons. This indicates how subjective and fluent the notion of 'heroism' is.

within one culture. Section 1.2 narrows down this immensely broad spectrum to one specific notion of ‘heroism’ that certainly influenced Quintus, and on which the next six chapters will focus: ‘Homeric heroism’, which I use as an umbrella term for heroic beliefs and practices such as they occur in the Homeric epics. This choice is deliberately quite specific, and implies that several other antique notions of ‘heroism’ (such as tragic, Apollonian or Vergilian ideas of the concept) are not taken into account.[57] In what follows, I outline further a few aspects of the huge field of Homeric heroism that are necessary for a thorough understanding of the idea and that will form a solid basis for my reading of the *Posthomerica* in the next two parts of this study.

The concept of ‘Homeric heroism’, in quotation marks, is too broad to be summarized in just a few paragraphs. Libraries have been filled with studies of the Homeric epics, focusing on various aspects of the heroic ideology. Since Homer himself did not write a manual on the subject, all results are necessarily derived from the words and deeds—the heroic practice—of Homer’s characters and from the focalization of the Homeric narrator. Two important considerations complicate this endeavour. First, Homer composed two epics, which diverge considerably in focus. Secondly, the view of the narrator need not coincide with that of (all of) the characters, and characters can also differ among themselves about heroic beliefs and practices, even within one epic. From now on, I therefore prefer descriptions such as ‘heroic convictions/codes/beliefs’, which more explicitly take into account the many differences that may exist among characters in the Homeric heroic universe. However, if there exists an underlying principle or background deemed universal to all of these Homeric heroes, it is generally assumed that Sarpedon summarizes it to Glaucus in *Iliad* 12:[58]

“Γλαῦκε τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὣς εἰσορόωσι;
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ’ ὄχθας
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο.
τὼ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἐόντας

57 Although I will sporadically indicate passages where such later influences may seem relevant, these observations cannot be exhaustive. Instead, they are mainly intended as stimuli for future research.

58 An extensive library could be filled with publications on ‘Homeric heroism’. For the overview that follows, I am most indebted to the work of Adkins (1960, 1982), Nagy (1974, 2013), Schein (1984), van Wees (1988), Martin (1989), Cairns (1993) and Horn (2014).

ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,
ὄφρα τις ὧδ᾽ εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων·
'οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
οἶνόν τ᾽ ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα καὶ ἲς
ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.'
ὦ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ᾽ ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ᾽, οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτέ κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
νῦν δ᾽ ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ᾽ ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν ἠέ τῳ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἠέ τις ἡμῖν."

Sarpedon: *Iliad* 12.310–328

"Glaucus, why is it that we two are most held in honor, with a seat of honor and meats and full cups, in Lycia and all men gaze on us as on gods? And we possess a great estate by the banks of Xanthus, a fair tract of orchard and of wheat-bearing plough-land. Therefore now we must take our stand among the foremost Lycians and confront blazing battle so that many a one of the mail-clad Lycians may say: 'Surely no inglorious men are these who rule in Lycia, our kings, and they eat fat sheep and drink choice wine, honey-sweet: but their might too is noble, since they fight among the foremost Lycians.' Ah friend, if once escaped from this battle we were forever to be ageless and immortal, neither should I myself fight among the foremost, nor should I send you into battle where men win glory; but now—for in any case fates of death threaten us, fates past counting, which no mortal may escape or avoid—now let us go forward, whether we shall give glory to another, or another to us."

A Homeric hero holds a leading position among his fellows, which he has earned (especially) on the battlefield. His aim is to win honour and recognition, at the risk of social repercussions if this is not achieved. Mortality is his primary motivation to achieve such goals during his lifetime (Horn 2014, 31–33). Each of these key principles is briefly considered in the next section. Further elaboration of the most important concepts is also provided over the course of the next chapters; references to these passages are provided where relevant.

1.2.2 *Key Principles*

Mortality is an element of central importance to both of Homer's epics. Although Hesiod situates the Trojan War in the age of semi-divine heroes (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος … ἡμίθεοι: Hesiod, *Works and Days* 159–160), it is a remarkable trait of the Homeric epics, both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that all of their heroes are mortal. The knowledge that they are going to die is exactly what inspires them to perform during their lives. This is apparent in some of the most important life choices of the *Iliad's* protagonist and antagonist. Achilles has to choose between a short, glorious life and a long one in obscurity (*Iliad* 9.410–415). He eventually chooses the former (*Iliad* 18.79–126), but afterwards regrets that choice in the *Odyssey* (11.489–491). Hector, on the other hand, struggles to overcome his fear in his final moments, to bravely face Achilles once more:

> “(…) νῦν αὖτέ με μοῖρα κιχάνει.
> μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
> ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.”
>
> Hector: *Iliad* 22.303–305

> “Not without a struggle let me die, nor ingloriously, but having done some great deed for men yet to be born to hear.”

Whether death in itself can serve as a final opportunity to gain glory, by dying bravely and thus being remembered, is a debated issue.[59] In any case, the focus on death in (especially) the *Iliad* is strong, both in the plotlines of the biggest players and in plentiful miniature scenes depicting dead or dying minor characters. Death is both a heroic necessity and a tragic reality, depicted by Homer with abundant pathos, and Quintus' dealing with this duality is the central topic of Chapter 6.[60]

The only way for heroes to live on after their deaths is **to be remembered** by others (Schein 1984, 48). Achilles mentions the famous words κλέος ἄφθιτον ('imperishable glory'), famously his heroic goal and that of his peers.[61] By excellent achievements during their lifetime, heroes gain prestige and honour,

59 E.g. Renehan argues that honour in the Homeric poems lies in the successful fights and victories of heroes rather than in their deaths (1987, 114–115).

60 Conflicting readings of especially the *Iliad* are triggered by this focus on death: the epic could be seen as both a war poem and an anti-war poem. This narrative tension is intriguing in itself: see, for example, Schein (1984, 82–84) and Kauffman (2015; see my Chapter 6). De Jong provides a few poignant examples of readings of the *Iliad* influenced by the context of a historical war (1992, 38–40).

61 On the meaning of these unique words in the *Iliad*, see Martin (1989, 183–185).

which ideally will be remembered by future generations. Terms often associated with this heroic aim are τιμή (~ prestige),[62] and κῦδος (~ victorious honour)[63] that leads to immortal κλέος. According to Nagy, κλέος ἄφθιτον can then be remembered through 'media' such as songs (or epics) and cults (1979, 174–189). The latter is explicitly absent from the Homeric epics, safeguarding the central idea of the heroes' mortality.[64] Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do, however, refer to the medium of song to transmit heroic glory. Several characters sing of the illustrious deeds of men within the limits of the Homeric plots (e.g. Achilles: ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Iliad* 9.189), or even explicitly about the heroes of the Trojan War (e.g. Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8).[65] Such songs could be identified as *mises-en-abyme* for the epic verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves, and their direct function of conserving and transmitting the glory of the Homeric heroes (Schein 1984, 84).

Heroes gain their honour in a social system, sustained by both friends and enemies, that recognizes **excellence and superiority.**[66] In this context, it does

62 Horn distinguishes between τιμή, defined as the social prestige which a hero gains or loses during life, and immortal κλέος, the unchallenged glory of a hero after his death (2014, 140–142). This definition is in line with Schein's interpretation of τιμή as "'price' or 'value' in the tangible sense of the word" (1984, 71). Adkins likewise understands τιμή as "status-conferring goods" (1982, 297). Zanker refers to it in a more social way, as "the preserve of warriors high on the social scale" (1994, 11). In contrast, Nagy defines τιμή as the honour obtained by cult and κλέος as the "undying glory of Epos" (1979, 119; he also dedicates the first 'hour' of his 2013 monograph to the subject).

63 Schein would interpret κῦδος as "triumphant power, leading to the glory that comes when one man kills or routs another" in the context of the *Iliad* (1984, 52) and defines κλέος as "'glory and reputation', what is said about them near and far, even when they are dead" (ibid. 71). Zanker follows the same line and states that "constantly tried and proven, timê wins kûdos, the property of having success and going forth as a victor", which in turn can result in κλέος, 'fair fame' that will result in immortality (1994, 11–12). Horn does not discuss the word κῦδος in his monograph. Quintus' use of κλέος and κῦδος is discussed in Chapter 5.

64 This strongly contrasts with several other literary texts, including Quintus (Chapter 7), in which cult is explicitly mentioned or even practiced in the narrative (Nagy 1979, 184 and Schein 1984, 47–49, with references to studies on hero cult in n. 7). The *Iliad*, however, is not one of them, although Sarpedon's 'solemn burial' could present one possible exception (Schein 1984, 48). On the reasons for the absence of cult in Homer, see also Horn (2014, 22–23).

65 Odysseus is an additional example. After his wanderings, he recreates his own renown, as it were, to regain name and fame in the heroic world by acting as the narrator of his own adventures (Horn 2014, 281–282). For praise songs in Quintus, see section 7.1 and its footnote 13.

66 E.g. Horn on "Leistung und Agonalität" (2014, 46–64) or on the various kinds of (friendly and inimical) reciprocity (ibid. 98–99). Even friendship consists of a strict system with

not suffice to be 'good'. The ultimate goal is to be the best: "Old Peleus charged his son Achilles always to be bravest (αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν) and preeminent above all" (Nestor: *Iliad* 11.783–784, discussed in more depth in section 3.3.1). This ties in with titles such as ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν ('the best of Achaeans'), which are pursued and quarrelled over in the *Iliad*.[67] The gift of honour (γέρας) serves as a means of recognition, given to the best champions and, therefore, having a far-reaching ideological value (Sale 1963, 89 and Horn 2014, 120–122). Loss of such a gift—and by extension, of the honour associated with it—is unthinkable and has severe consequences. In different ways, this is a central issue in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The three foremost Homeric heroes (Achilles, Hector and Odysseus) approach honour (and its loss) from different angles (see section 1.2.3). The other side of the medallion is the risk of failure, or the shame (αἰδώς) of *not* achieving what is expected of you—or what you expect to be expected you.[68] The complex feeling of αἰδώς is Hector's major struggle in the *Iliad* (see section 1.2.3).

There are **various skills** in which a hero can excel. In an attempt to make Hector understand his own limitations, Polydamas gives an extensive overview:

mutual rights and duties, in which material gifts are of central importance. Zanker argues that φιλότης in the *Iliad* has an institutional and an affectionate aspect, both based on reciprocity. He brings nuance to Adkins' model of the Homeric value system as a purely results-oriented and merit-based society (Adkins 1960, 31–36), where results prevail over morale (ibid. 51–52). Instead, Zanker considers the existence of loyalty and generosity in the Homeric epics (1994, 13–22; see also Horn 2014, 116–127).

67 Superiority can be achieved on more than one level. For the rivalry between the political superiority of Agamemnon and that of Achilles regarding heroic valiance and strength, see again section 3.3.1.

68 According to Dodds, αἰδώς forms the fundament of the so-called 'shame-culture' in Iliadic society (1951, 17–18). He defines αἰδώς as a hero's "respect for public opinion" and states that "in such a society, anything which exposes a man to the contempt or ridicule of his fellows, which causes him to 'lose face', is felt as unbearable" (ibid. 18). Opposed to 'shame-culture', could then be placed the 'guilt-culture' of later Greek periods, which is based on internal rather than external sanctions. This absolute distinction, however, is refuted by Cairns as typically Western (1993, 27–32). In particular, the latter brings nuance to Dodds' absolute focus on the external community. According to Cairns, αἰδώς "is, or perhaps better springs from, an internal state of conscience which is based on internal standards and an awareness of the values of society" (1993, 144). Schein's definition is in the same vein: "Aidōs is both an individual and a social concept; it is an internal, emotional impulse toward correct behavior in conformity with what is expected of one by others" (1984, 177). Equally in line with Cairns, Horn phrases it as "das Bewusstsein für richtiges und falsches Verhalten und die Verpflichtung gegenüber gesellschaftlichen Normen". He proposes two translations: "Scham(gefühl)", but also more generally "Achtung (vor anderen und deren Ansprüchen)" (Horn 2014, 132; 131–132 n. 616 for further references). The occurrence of αἰδώς in Quintus is discussed in section 2.1.3.

"Ἕκτορ ἀμήχανός ἐσσι παραρρητοῖσι πιθέσθαι.
οὕνεκά τοι περὶ δῶκε θεὸς πολεμήια ἔργα
τοὔνεκα καὶ βουλῇ ἐθέλεις περιίδμεναι ἄλλων·
ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως ἅμα πάντα δυνήσεαι αὐτὸς ἑλέσθαι.
ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμήια ἔργα,
ἄλλῳ δ᾽ ὀρχηστύν, ἑτέρῳ κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν,
ἄλλῳ δ᾽ ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἐσθλόν, τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἐπαυρίσκοντ᾽ ἄνθρωποι,
καί τε πολέας ἐσάωσε, μάλιστα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνέγνω.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα·"

Polydamas: *Iliad* 13.726–735

"Hector, you are a hard man to convince with words of persuasion. Because a god has given you deeds of war as to no other, for that reason in counsel too you are minded to have wisdom beyond all; but there is no way you will be able by yourself to compass all things. To one man has god given deeds of war, to another the dance, to another the lyre and song, and in the breast of another man Zeus, whose voice resounds afar, puts an understanding mind from which many men get profit, and many he saves; but he realizes it best himself. So I will speak what seems to me to be best."

Most importantly, and although, like many heroes, he does not excel equally in both skills,[69] Achilles was sent to Troy to be "both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (Phoenix: *Iliad* 9.443). Words are generally spoken during the ἀγορά or assembly of chiefs. Nestor and Odysseus are exemplary in this respect.[70] In battle, a hero must fight in the foremost ranks (πρόμαχος).[71] The victories and spoils he wins—both their quantity and their quality—mark his virtue or ἀρετή.[72]

69 Diomedes, often named as an exemplary hero in both battle and counsel, forms an exception (further references in Horn 2014, 62 n. 264). Martin discusses his Bildung-process as a young warrior (1989, 124–130). See also Andersen (1978).

70 More on the skill of words in section 4.3.1.

71 Van Wees on the army deployments and performances of individual front fighters in the large battle scenes of the *Iliad* (1988, 4–18); Horn also on the importance of the front fighter's entourage. Battle formations are not so much based on historical models, but mainly are poetical constructions used to stress the individual actions of the main heroes (Horn 2014, 76–78).

72 Horn (2014, 77–86). Adkins understands ἀρετή as the abstract value of the 'prowess' (1982, 296) that leads to τιμή (Zanker 1994, 11; further references in n. 15). Adkins elaborates that

Along with these specific talents often goes a preference for certain approaches or tactics during warfare. In the Homeric epics, a significant distinction is made between the use of force or violence (for which Achilles is notable) and wit or ruse (Odysseus' approach), both of which receive further elaboration in Quintus' *Posthomerica* (section 5.1).

1.2.3 *One Goal, Different Perspectives*

If a few general tendencies, such as they have briefly been summarized in the sections above, can be distilled from the actions and words of the heroes (and narrator) in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it also needs to be noted that this framework finds different means of expression in the different narrative contexts in which individual heroes find themselves, both within one epic and when *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are compared.

Achilles' wrath (μῆνις) in the *Iliad* is a direct consequence of a violation of the heroic recognition that is his due.[73] Refusing to further pursue the honour that Agamemnon took from him when claiming his γέρας Briseis, he forsakes the Achaean army and withdraws his support. Stubbornly, he also rejects the amends that are later proposed in *Iliad* 9.[74] This indicates the high symbolic value of what he deems lost. Although the aggressiveness and selfishness of this reaction has puzzled modern readers (Adkins 1982, 315–324), these actions can be understood and not even deemed anti-social from the Iliadic perspective. Achilles' fellows do not question his actions (Horn 2014, 238–204), while Agamemnon's behaviour is repeatedly censured (Adkins 1982, 312). The

this 'excellence' is a competitive standard on both a military and a social level (1960, 31–36, 46). For ἀρετή in Quintus, see section 7.2.1.

73 For the specific connotations of μῆνις and its remarkable connection to Achilles in the *Iliad*, see e.g. Schein (1984, 91 and n. 4.) and Horn (2014, 111–116, 128 n. 596).

74 Sale interprets these actions as a sign of his disillusion: the old heroic value system has proved hollow. Adkins argues that Achilles seems to distrust Agamemnon's future behaviour (1982, 304–306). Zanker places Achilles in an ethical vacuum (1994, 92). Others focus on the exact value of the price Agamemnon is willing to pay to make amends. Achilles' insult goes deeper than the loss of a girl and cannot be bought off with more gifts. A hero would never be prepared to die for mere material possessions. Claus aptly concludes: "[Achilles] must be paid, but cannot be bought" for his support in the war (1975, 23–28; 24 for the citation). Similarly Schein: "For him [Achilles] at this point there is no longer any quality left in the world, only the quantities that Agamemnon offers and the newly understood value system provides. He might as well go home" (1984, 106). Horn interprets the conflict between both heroes as a matter of hierarchy. The gifts proposed in Book 9 honour Achilles, but would also tie him to Agamemnon's command and family. Achilles resists this submission (2014, 162–173).

Homeric hero must defend his personal honour at any cost and is not concerned with the larger goal of the war or the suffering of others.[75] Achilles' revenge for Patroclus, with his furious, bloody slaughter in Books 20 to 22, can be measured on the same personal scale. No matter how extreme his grief, his rage and subsequent quest for revenge are 'normal' reactions within the heroic system. Achilles is not the only Homeric hero angered and in search of revenge, but he does so to an extreme degree.[76] One of the main strengths of Achilles' character in the *Iliad* is his *catharsis* in Book 24, which reminds readers and characters alike that Achilles is not a monster, but just another victim of human emotions and mortality. Many scholars appreciate the restoration of his kind-hearted side, which had been suppressed since the very beginning of *Iliad* 1.[77] Achilles' emotional rollercoaster, which forms the spine of the Iliadic narrative, is only one means for Homer to masterfully thematize the tension within the heroic system.

Although the quest for glory and eternal renown inspires **Hector** as much as Achilles, the former's heroic behaviour is compromised by another factor. The Trojan prince is constantly torn between this individual heroic urge to gain honour and the necessity to protect his family and city (Cairns 1993, 79–83): "Woman, I too take thought of all this, but I dreadfully feel shame (αἰδέομαι) before the Trojans, and the Trojans' wives with trailing robes, if like a coward I skulk apart from the battle. Nor does my heart command it, since I have learnt to excel always and to fight among the foremost Trojans, striving to win great glory (μέγα κλέος) for my father and myself" (*Iliad* 6.441–446). His eventual decision to stay outside the gates and confront Achilles is situated on the edge of this inner conflict (Zanker 1994, 55):

“νῦν δ’ ἐπεὶ ὤλεσα λαὸν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἐμῇσιν,
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
μή ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμεῖο·
‘Ἕκτωρ ἧφι βίηφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν.’

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75 Schein concludes that, given his choice of a short life, Achilles naturally is more sensitive to this fundamental kind of insult and has every right to set a high price for it (1984, 99–101).

76 Schein (1984, 163) and Horn (2014, 223). The narrative focus in those books is (nearly) completely on Achilles (Horn 2014, 202). He is the only character to kill enemies in this episode (Schein 1984, 145).

77 Zanker (1994). Schein also indicates Achilles' φιλότης (which he translates as 'love' or 'friendship': 1984, 206) as a main theme in the *Iliad*, despite the fact that it is paralyzed for the better part of the epic (ibid. 98–100, 154–154).

ὣς ἐρέουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ’ ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη
ἄντην ἢ Ἀχιλῆα κατακτείναντα νέεσθαι,
ἠέ κεν αὐτῷ ὀλέσθαι ἐυκλειῶς πρὸ πόληος.”

Hector: *Iliad* 22.104–110

“But now, since I have brought the army to ruin through my blind folly, I feel shame before the Trojans, and the Trojans’ wives with trailing robes, lest perhaps some other, baser than I, may say: ‘Hector, trusting in his own might, brought ruin on the army.’ So will they say; but for me it would be far better to meet Achilles man to man and slay him and so return home, or myself perish gloriously before the city.”

Having ignored Polydamas’ good counsel, Hector feels responsible for the terrible massacre that has just taken place. Because of his earlier failure, he is loath to return to Troy and face the disdain of his fellows. He would rather stay and fight than accept the shame of this failure. Hector finds himself squeezed between his heroic obligation to gain honour and his personal responsibility to defend his family and home. Schein identifies these two concerns as different, even contrasting kinds of αἰδώς: a social and an individual emotion (1984, 178–179). In this respect, Hector differs radically from Achilles. Book 22 thus witnesses the clash of two contrasting heroes: one within sight of his family, the other alienated from humanity; one fighting for life and one for death (ibid. 180–186).

Although Hector and Achilles thus embody the goal of heroic honour in different ways, their achievements are eventually crystallized in their death, and the way in which they are remembered.[78] Death, however, is not the means by which **Odysseus** wins his honour in the *Odyssey*.[79] On the contrary, his ability to survive and regain his name and kingship, and the fact that he is celebrated in songs even during his lifetime, are what grant him ultimate glory. Essentially, Odysseus struggles against oblivion while roaming through ‘fairyland’. For Telemachus, uncertainty about Odysseus’ fate is harder to bear than news of his heroic death would be. The same idea urges Odysseus on his way time and again during his wanderings. He refuses the eternal—but inglorious—refuges

78 While in the hands of Achilles, however, Hector’s (personal, heroic) honour is threatened. Despite his eventual honourable attempt to face Achilles, the latter deliberately mistreats the body of his victim to deny it its last honour, thus ‘ideologically killing’ Hector as well. The divine assembly in *Iliad* 24 restores balance (Horn 2014, 213–235).

79 In what follows, I mainly follow Horn’s interpretation of Odysseus’ heroic character (2014, Chapter III).

of Calypso and Circe, and even during his last storm he fears an anonymous death at sea, unknown to the world and lost forever:

> “τρὶς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις, οἳ τότ’ ὄλοντο
> Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.
> ὡς δὴ ἐγώ γ’ ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλεῖστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
> Τρῶες ἐπέρριψαν περὶ Πηλεΐωνι θανόντι.
> τῶ κ’ ἔλαχον κτερέων, καί μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί·
> νῦν δέ με λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἵμαρτο ἁλῶναι.”
>
> Odysseus: *Odyssey* 5.306–312

> “Thrice blessed those Danaans and four times blessed who perished in those days in the wide land of Troy, doing the pleasure of the sons of Atreus. Would that like them I too had died and met my fate on that day when the throngs of the Trojans hurled upon me bronze-tipped spears, fighting around the body of the dead son of Peleus. Then should I have got funeral rites, and the Achaeans would have spread my fame, but now it is by a miserable death that it was my fate to be cut off.”

Death in full heroic—Iliadic—glory would have been three or four times better than the fate that threatens him now. When Odysseus eventually reaches Scheria, he is alone, deprived of all his possessions and even his identity. He must win it all back before he can even try to re-establish his power in Ithaca. Hence, whereas the *Iliad* is about gaining honour in war, the *Odyssey* is about preserving it and, simultaneously, increasing it with new achievements. To achieve this, Odysseus also needs a different set of heroic skills. The distinction between heroic talents and tactics has been discussed above. That Odysseus is most famous for his wit and beguiling nature, however, does not mean that he is physically weak or a coward. On the contrary, Homer’s Odysseus in the *Odyssey* proves his strength (e.g. his battle in Book 22), as much as the Iliadic Odysseus does his wit (e.g. the *Dolonia*). In both epics, we are dealing with the same Odysseus, who, in different circumstances, also adopts a different heroic approach.

This applies not only to Odysseus’ situation, but also to the perception of the heroic code in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as a whole. Horn underlines the significance of the shift of narrative context and setting between *Iliad* (where the Trojan War is a present reality, the narrative setting a battlefield) and the *Odyssey* (where the Trojan War is in the past, the narrative context a journey home). Although heroes from both epics could essentially be said to follow the

same heroic code, this shift of context causes them to perceive this heroic reality differently. As such, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* both focus on, for example, another tactic with regard to the Sack of Troy. In the *Iliad*, in which Achilles is the foremost hero, this focus is naturally on strength and battlefield prowess. The *Odyssey*, on the other hand, particularly seems to remember the Sack as a success through ruses, with Odysseus in the leading role (Horn 2014, 254–255, 327):

> “εἰνάετες γάρ σφιν κακὰ ῥάπτομεν ἀμφιέποντες
> παντοίοισι δόλοισι, μόγις δ’ ἐτέλεσσε Κρονίων.
> ἔνθ’ οὔ τίς ποτε μῆτιν ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην
> ἤθελ’, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἐνίκα δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
> παντοίοισι δόλοισι, πατὴρ τεός, (…)”
>
> Nestor: *Odyssey* 3.118–122

> “For nine years’ space were we busied plotting their ruin with all sorts of wiles; and hardly did the son of Cronus bring it to pass. There no man ventured to vie with him in counsel, since noble Odysseus far excelled in all sorts of wiles—your father, if indeed you are his son.”

The *Posthomerica* lies somewhere between both views. Moving from one to the other as Quintus does, it is quite a challenge to maintain a consistent view of Homeric heroic beliefs and practices and even the heroes themselves.[80] Important episodes chronologically situated between both Homeric epics, and thus within Quintus’ compulsory story material, include the death of Achilles, the arrival of his son and—of course—the Sack of Troy. Whereas Homer could refer to these events from two different perspectives and hence provide different, even (seemingly) contrasting views, the *Posthomerica* has to make choices and ‘pick a side’. Moreover, later traditions sometimes enlarge and polarize these seeming Homeric inconsistencies into strong polemics. This created, for example, the rigorous opposition between characters of strength and ruse in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*.[81] Quintus is not only aware of the (more nuanced) Homeric epics, but also of their (sometimes more rigid) descendants. His ulti-

80 E.g. Tomasso (2010, 201–214; discussed more extensively in the conclusion).

81 This polarization even backfired into new readings of the Homeric epics. Bezantakos points to attestations of such oppositions in a few Homeric *scholia* and Philostratus. Particularly interesting is a *scholion* to *Odyssey* 8.77, which interprets the undefined quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus in Demodocus’ song as a quarrel about the use of violence or ruse (1992, 154–155). See also section 5.1.

mate challenge is to distil his own, new version of these events. This brings me to the focus of my reading of Homeric heroism in the *Posthomerica*, which is twofold: on the one hand, I investigate to what extent the Homeric heroic framework is still relevant to (and detectable in) Quintus' Posthomeric narration. On the other hand, I study occasions where this framework—for several reasons—is challenged by unhomeric characters and situations. My question in such cases is whether and how Quintus tries to adapt the situation to the Homeric heroic code, or tries to adapt this code to his new situation.

1.3 Approach: Characters between Tradition and Plot Structure

My study of the *Posthomerica* combines a formal approach with a focus on contents. The latter has been outlined in section 1.2: Quintus' dealing with Homeric heroes and heroism (and, to a smaller extent, their later reception). In order to do this, I need to engage with the wide range of literary traditions that were available to Quintus. My selection of and approach to this material is outlined in section 1.3.1. However, this content-based focus on heroism mainly serves as means to approach the *Posthomerica* from a formal point of view. As pointed out in the preface, my analysis follows a chronological structure from Book 1 (Chapter 2) to Book 14 (Chapter 7). As such, the narrative composition and coherence of Quintus' epic, and more specifically the progressive character development of several of his heroes (mainly the Aeacids) becomes a natural theme throughout the study. Although many studies before me have focused on the narrative structures of the epic (a state of the field is provided in section 1.3.2), none before mine has considered this linear development as its primary research focus. Finally, two narrative techniques are of constant interest for my reading of the *Posthomerica*: the (narratological) awareness of the concept of characterization (section 1.3.3) and the multifunctionality of Homeric similes (section 1.3.4).

1.3.1 *Literary Influence*

Although Homer dominates any first reading of Quintus' epic, many other literary texts, from ancient to late antique, in both Greek and Latin, could be considered when studying the *Posthomerica*. Options include (but are not limited to): later Greek 'classics' such as Hesiod,[82] several tragedies about the

82 Compare, for example, the in-proem, the shield descriptions and the *theomachy*, but also Quintus' representation of the gods and Zeus throughout the epic, and of Ajax Minor in the apocalyptic storm of Book 14 (Carvounis 2008 and 2007, respectively).

Trojan War,[83] Apollonius of Rhodes,[84] late(r) antique hexameter poetry such as Oppian's *Halieutica*, Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion* and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*,[85] and even—although still controversial—Latin literature,[86] thus far primarily Vergil and Ovid.[87] Although all of these texts undoubtedly provide stimulating

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83 Paley (1879) provides an early overview. Most impactful are Sophocles' *Ajax* for Book 5 (James & Lee 2000 and Tsomis 2007, 195–200), Sophocles' *Philoctetes* for the representation of Neoptolemus (Bezantakos 1992) and—to a smaller extent—for Quintus' episode about Philoctetes. Various other tragedies thematizing the Sack of Troy and its aftermath have also been considered: e.g. Euripides' *Hecuba* for the relationship between Hecabe and Polyxena (Carvounis 2005, 257–265) and for Hecabe's dream in Book 14 (Guez 1999, 92–96), *Phoenissae* for the representation of the siege of Troy (Keydell 1954, 254) and *Troades* for Helen's pleas and guilt (Maciver 2011, 297 and 2012b, 170–171). More recently also Zanusso (2014).

84 Episodes of interest include the Lemnian passage in *Posthomerica* 9 (in comparison to *Argonautica* 1: Ozbek 2011), the final storm of *Posthomerica* 14 (André 2013b) and the shield *ekphraseis* (Mazza 2014). Vian provides more extensive lists (2001, 289–294). Schmidt investigates the similar narrative composition of the last four books of the *Posthomerica* and the *Argonautica* as a whole (1999, 148–149). Several Posthomeric characters have been compared to Apollonian ones: Jason and Idas to Penthesilea and Thersites (Schubert 1996), Medea to Helen (Maciver 2011), Deidamia to Alcimeda (Calero Secall 1995a, 43–45), and the departure of Neoptolemus in *Posthomerica* 7 to the launch of the Argonauts' expedition and Jason's part in it (Vian 1966 T2, 101–102). Tomasso investigates the intertextual potential of a reference made by Nestor in *Posthomerica* 12 to his missed opportunity to join the crew of the *Argo* (presented during the Quintus Workshop 2013). Bugin considers the typically written character of Quintus and Apollonius' language use, in contrast to Homer's orality (2014). For the 'Alexandrian turn' in Quintus scholarship, see as soon as James (1978).

85 See also section 1.1.1. Tomasso considers the influence of imperial Greek epics more broadly, although little conclusive evidence can be derived from their partial transmission (2010, 281–283). Other imperial literature has sporadically been taken into consideration: e.g. the New Testament (García Romero 1988), *Panteleus* (Schubert 2007), Dionysius Periegetes, the *Cynegetica*, Nestor and Pisander of Laranda (Tomasso 2010), Libanius (Ureña Bracero 1999) and other rhetoric influences (Bär 2010). Langella proposes a comparison with Dictys and Dares (forthcoming).

86 A brief overview of this controversy is provided in section 1.1.3 and footnote 47.

87 The Sack of Troy offers the most important overlap between the *Posthomerica* and the *Aeneid*, including characters such as Sinon and Laocoon (Gärtner 2009 and Hadjittofi 2007; on Laocoon alone also James 2007, 153–157), Aeneas (Ozbek, forthcoming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*) and Priam's murder (Boyten 2007, 320–325). Furthermore, Penthesilea has been compared to Camilla (Maciver 2012c, Fratantuono 2016) and the confrontation between Helen and Menelaus to that of Dido and Aeneas (Maciver 2011, 299–701). Additionally, the *testudo* in *Posthomerica* 11 may well share common ground with Vergil (Tomasso 2010, 138–143). The list is endless. James gives an extensive overview of possibly relevant passages (2007, 149–153) and Gärtner reads through the entire *Posthomerica* with a Vergilian gaze (2005). Other Latin texts that have sometimes been considered in relation to the *Posthomerica* include Plinius Major for landscape (André 2013a), Lucan

grounds for discussion regarding Quintus' recreation of Homeric heroism and heroes, it is impossible within the scope of this study to include them all.

My main source of interest, obviously, is Homer. Unlike certain scholars before me, I deem both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* equally influential on Quintus' composition. To consider the position of the *Posthomerica* as an epic *between* Homer's great works, rather than just 'a sequel to the *Iliad*' is a relatively new idea in Quintus scholarship, with a lot of potential still underexplored.[88] Furthermore, I consider Sophocles' heroic characterization of Odysseus and Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes* as a typical example of the polarization in the heroic code *after* Homer (Chapter 5; see also Bezantakos 1992). In the later episodes of the *Posthomerica*, this debate finds its culmination in the ruse of the Trojan Horse (especially Books 12 and 13). There is barely any Homeric evidence of this episode, and what mentions are available in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contradict each other. Here, Quintus deals with versatile if very popular material, and the choices he makes decide the tonality of his own version. To better understand the impact of Quintus' choices, at various points I compare episodes of the *Posthomerica* to their counterparts in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion*, both of which adopt a very different style and tone in the narration of events than Quintus. Quintus' relation to both poems is controversial, as it remains uncertain if he either knew Vergil or was known by Triphiodorus.[89] In the latter case, it is even debatable which poem predates which. Most recent studies no longer search for a definitive chronology, but only read the *Posthomerica* and the *Sack of Ilion* as two expressions of the same cultural tradition. Nonetheless, the relevance of reading these two—roughly contemporary?—hexameter poems in relation to one another as two different examples of the same kind of literary context cannot be underlined enough.[90]

for a few gruesome scenes (Fornaro 2001), Seneca's *Agamemnon* and Cicero (Keydell 1949–1950). See also Usener (2007).

88 The link between the epic's end and the (chronological) beginning of the *Odyssey* is less apparent, but unmistakeably present. Way's utter disbelief in the impact of the *Odyssey* on the *Posthomerica* (1913) is convincingly refuted by Tomasso (2010 and 2012), and also Carvounis pays attention to the connection of particularly Book 14 to the *Odyssey* (2005). Cerri notes the important shift from violence to wit in Book 12 (2015, 141–142). More extensive references and discussions in Chapter 7 and the conclusion.

89 Miguélez-Cavero gives a list of controversial passages in Triphiodorus that could have been influenced by Quintus and concludes that "the general impression that QS and Triph. resemble each other at some points is not enough to establish a direct link between the two poems" (2013, 72–74; 74 for the citation). Bär provides an overview of this debate (2009, 15 n. 25).

90 Tomasso (2012, 372–373). Detailed comparison of Triphiodorus and Quintus has been conducted by Tomasso (2010, 258–276), and Quintus is a prominent work of reference in

In the cases of Triphiodorus and Latin literature, but also more broadly, ancient *source criticism* does not seem to suffice, as a methodology, to make sense of the complex interplay of Quintus and his literary tradition. Although it need not surprise that Quintus' poem has long triggered—and to a certain extent still triggers—studies focusing on the actual 'sources' of the epic,[91] the mere determination and listing of possible source material has long since given way to the more critical study of their impact on the narrative, currently one of the most thriving fields in Quintus scholarship. In line with the developments of modern literary theory in the second half of the 20th century, critical voices arguing for replacing traditional source criticism with more interpretative studies of intertextuality have become prominent in Quintus studies in the last decade, with, for example, Bär's extensive methodological reflection on the limitations of source criticism. These limitations include the centrality of the author, the rather one-sided look that assumes imitation by the later author of the earlier source, the principle of negative evidence that excludes the possibility of influence where no explicit evidence is at hand, and the generally rather descriptive character of traditional source criticism (2009, 38–43; also Tomasso 2010, 3).

More recently still, Maciver has proposed a turn towards the reader. This new focus is particularly useful to study the 'influence' of literary texts whose relationship to the *Posthomerica* cannot be determined with full certainty. Maciver's own study deals with the possibility of Latin literary influence (2011, 691–693); the case of Triphiodorus can also be, and has recently been, approached from this angle. Starting from Kristeva (see also Bär 2009, 36–37) and strongly incorporating Barthes' idea of the 'death of the author', Maciver underlines the centrality of the reader in this process (2012b, 10–12; 10 for the citation):

> Intertextuality describes the interaction of texts, including the reader, involved in the process of reading. There is a textual system, in the process

Miguélez-Cavero's commentary on the *Sack of Ilion* (2013). The open-minded approach of both scholars to the relation between the poems has largely refuted Campbell's scepticism (1981, 46–47). See also Schmitz (2005), on the reception of prophecies in both poems. More recently, Quintus is taken into account in Maciver's study of Triphiodorus (forthcoming in *Classical Philology*).

91 Vian, both in his 1959 book and his 1963 text edition, gives detailed overviews of possible literary sources. Before him, see *inter alia* Sodano (various contributions) and Taccone (1910). Even more recently, several commentaries and other studies seem to mainly focus on this type of source criticism, including Campbell (1981), Ferreccio (2014) and Zanusso (2014). Gärtner's study on Quintus and Vergil also follows this line of research (2005).

> of reading, between the text being read, the reader reading the text, the combination of texts which make up the text read, and the combination of texts, cultural, social, and literary, which 'make up' the background and capabilities of the reader. This is the umbrella term I use to encompass all ideas of relationships between texts activated when I, the reader, engage the Posthomerica.

In line with Maciver's view, the name 'Quintus' in the present book does not refer to a historical author or author's intention, but to 'my' Quintus, or the way I construe him as a reader: "My Quintus is only a reading" (ibid. 12). Part of this personal 'Quintus construct' is determined by the relations I see between Quintus, who was himself also a reader,[92] and other meaningful texts, which he may or may not have read, but which in any case determine my understanding of the *Posthomerica* today.

1.3.2 *Narrative Composition*

Text-internal continuity forms a complicated challenge for readers of Quintus, whose narrative seems determined (intentionally) to consist of a series of originally rather loose episodes. Working from the *Iliad* towards the *Odyssey*, the *Posthomerica* adopts a chronological structure consisting of a sequence of episodes that are not always strongly related to each other within the mythological tradition. Several—but not all—of Quintus' books treat more or less complete stories that, to a certain extent, could also be read independently. This has led to overall generally 'fragmentized' scholarly approach to Quintus, with comparatively few studies that focus on the overarching narrative structures of the epic.[93] The odd total of 14 books has puzzled many readers. Ever since the

92 See Maciver's introductory paragraph "reading Quintus reading Homer" (2012b, 7–13). For example: "The Homeric poems are the code model. But when it comes to scrutinising the actual verbal interplay between Homer and the *Posthomerica*, Quintus reads Homer, interprets Homer, and changes Homer. The Homeric poems are also, continually, the exemplary model" (ibid. 9).

93 E.g. commentaries have recently appeared on Q.S. 1.1–219 (Bär 2009) and on books 2 (Campagnolo 2012 and Ferreccio 2014), 5 (James & Lee 2000) and 12 (Campbell 1981). Forthcoming—to my knowledge—are commentaries on Books 9 (Ozbek) and 14 (Carvounis, original diss. 2005). Most recently, Book 7 has been blessed with the simultaneous interest of Langella (PhD project in its final stage) and Tsomis (2018). In the same year, Tsomis also published a commentary on Book 10 (2018). Both of Tsomis' commentaries, however, have appeared when this monograph was already in print and have, therefore, not yet been taken into account for the below study. Another PhD project, by Stephan Renker, is preparing a commentary on Book 13. Other books still remain understudied in this respect.

Alexandrian subdivision of Homer's work into twice 24 books, the epic tradition has been mathematically influenced by this composition. Vergil's *Aeneid* consists of 12 books, Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* of 48, and even Apollonius' *Argonautica* (4 books) fits within this mathematical scheme. The *Posthomerica* does not, which has raised critical voices about the (quality of) the narrative structure within the epic.[94] For Appel, this unusual number is an indication that Quintus' fourteen books were never meant to form one coherent epic (1994c, 5–8). Although the *Posthomerica* has been criticized for an alleged lack of unity more than once,[95] Appel's theory was never convincing. General themes and recurring motifs are sufficiently prominent to reveal a considerate effort to unify the books and create an overarching storyline.[96] Also, on a more structural level, links can be found between books; especially between certain 'groups of books' that are more closely linked than others. Books 1 to 5 could be seen as one larger narrative about Achilles and Ajax Major (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). The account of Neoptolemus and Eurypylus in Books 6 to 8 is generally accepted to be one narrative unit (Chapter 4).[97] Maciver even points out that, in contrast to other traditions, Quintus' Philoctetes arrives later than Neoptolemus, exactly to ensure the narrative coherence of the Neoptolemus episode (2012b, 20–21). Books 12 to 14, too, focus on one event more or less coherently, namely the Sack of Troy. Finally, Books 9 and 10 could perhaps be linked thematically, as their respective stories both focus on a suffering hero. This division into four groups is proposed by Means (1951, 339), but various other suggestions have also been made.[98] This (rather vague) awareness of a larger narrative structure was developed into a thorough literary analysis for the first time by Schenk in 1997. He

94 For an overview, see Schmidt (1999, 143–144).

95 Vian finds that the epic lacks proper revision, e.g. referring to what he calls "les graves contradictions que l' auteur n' a pas fait disparaître dans le récit ou d' innombrables redites qui ne sont pas toujours volontaires et s' expliquent par la négligence d' une première rédaction" (1954, 42). However, examples of such contradictions (provided ibid. n. 3) only deal with events that are mentioned at some point in the epic, but are never explicitly carried out (e.g. the purification of Penthesilea in Book 1).

96 Vian (1963 T1, xxvi, also cited in Maciver 2012b, 23) and Dihle (1989, 436). Examples include character development (discussed below), the use of similes (equally discussed below; see also Spinoula 2005 and 2008, Scheijnen 2011b and 2017, et. al.), the arrival scenes (Calero Secall 1995b), *ekphraseis* (Baumbach 2007 et. al.), ethical themes (Maciver 2012b) and geographical descriptions (André 2013a, 2013b and 2015–2016).

97 Some scholars also include Book 9 in this subsection (Vian 1966 T2, 47, D'Ippolito 1988, 377 and Toledano Vargas 2002).

98 Schmidt takes Book 9–14 together, based on possible influence of the Epic Cycle (5 books based on *Aethiopis*, 4 on *Ilias Parva* and 2 on *Ilioupersis*; 1999, 144). D'Ippolito classifies Books 10–14 as five 'smaller monographs', after two more coherent cycles (1988, 377). In an attempt to explain the odd number of fourteen books, James notes that the time span

indicates the strategic position of the epic's four assemblies, at the beginning of Books 2 and 6 and twice in Book 12. Each assembly is triggered by an important plot change and therefore indicates a *caesura* in the epic (1997, 365–377): in Book 6, the Achaeans are in want of a new champion. In Book 12, two successive Achaean assemblies discuss the new strategy of the Trojan Horse. The only Trojan assembly takes place at the beginning of Book 2 and expresses the despair of the Trojans just before the arrival of Memnon.[99] Thus, Schenk convincingly argues that the epic consists of three major movements: Books 1 to 5 thematize Achilles and Ajax's oppression of the Trojans. From Book 6 onward, Neoptolemus becomes the new champion on the Achaean side. Finally, the decision to use the ruse of the Trojan Horse causes a major shift in tactics and leads to the victory and return of the Achaeans. This subdivision provides a strong argument for the narrative unity of the epic; its presentation announced the beginning of a trend in recent decades of also addressing the *Posthomerica* from a plot structural point of view. After the *Notices* to Vian's text edition (1963–1969) and the structural studies by Schenk (1997) and Schmidt (1999), the more recent studies of Bär (2009, 92–103) and Maciver (2012b, 20–24) have tackled the issue again. Collectively, they have by now convincingly refuted Appel's analytical theory, to the extent that the new lemma on Quintus in the Oxford Classical Dictionary notes that the epic "does not lack plot coherence and an overarching design."[100]

The same scholars also have firmly introduced the methodology of narratology into Quintus scholarship. Narratology has taken a central place in classics

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of Quintus' narrative does not greatly differ from those of the Homeric epics, "the focus being on twenty-two days out of about twice that number" (2005, 367). Schmidt suggests to abandon the subdivision of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into 24 books, instead adopting the "modern analytical direction in Homer research" that understands the *Iliad* as the prototype of a composition in three parts and the *Odyssey* of one in two parts. The *Posthomerica* could be analogically divided into three movements, two of five and one of four books, with a significant death in the middle of each (Achilles' in Book 3, Eurypylus' in Book 8 and Priam's in Book 13). Schmidt also carefully suggests that the addition of a 15th book would strengthen this composition (1999, 145–148).

99 Schenk stresses that it need not surprise anyone that this assembly is situated at the beginning of the second book of the epic instead of the first. At the beginning of Book 1, the proem serves to link the epic to the end of the *Iliad*. The rest of Book 1, which has a very similar structure to Book 2, displays the general battle situation after Hector's death. Schenk considers the Amazon Queen Penthesilea a second Hector. Her defeat serves as a strong illustration of the current distress of the Trojan side. This situation can then be discussed at the beginning of the next book (1997, 377–382). The parallel subject of Books 1 and 2 is discussed in Chapter 2.

100 Bär (2017). For a more detailed overview of scholarship on the narrative composition of the *Posthomerica*, see Bär (2009, 93–94).

studies ever since de Jong's ground-breaking 1987 study, which applied this initially modern literary model (Gerard Genette 1972 via Mieke Bal 1977) to the *Iliad*. This methodology provides an ideal framework to dissect any narrative into the entities from which it is constructed. On the levels of fabula, story and text, deliberate choices are made to shape a text into a unique, new and original composition.[101] My own analysis in this book is not narratological in the strictly technical sense of the word. Certain elements that are key to the narratological way of reading, however, may provide insight on Quintus' reworking of Homeric heroism and heroes. For one, the various perspectives of character and narrator (de Jong distinguishes between simple and complex narrator text and character speech: 1987, 37) have to be distinguished to identify the various heroic standpoints in the epic. Finally, narratology also allows us to approach characters as literary constructs in service of the narrative.

1.3.3 *Constructing Characters*

Central to my study is the process of (re)creating and developing characters, also called 'characterization'.[102] Characterization finds itself between the two axes discussed in the previous sections: whereas some of the most prominent characters (for example the Aeacids on whom I mainly focus) create clear narrative paths throughout the epic and thus ensure plot coherence, they also carry the mark of a long literary tradition. Character construction is a complex process that gradually develops throughout the narrative. While moving forward through the story, the reader learns more of the nature of each character. The awareness of 'who characterizes' leads us to consider how the narrator

101 Narratology distinguishes between three levels of the narrative text: the chronological set of events caused or experienced by the actants (fabula), the perception of those by the focalizer (story) and the account of all this given by the narrator (text); they should be perceived as three layers, each forming the basis of the next. The exact terms for these levels differs. I have opted for the terminology of de Jong, following Bal (de Jong 1987, xxvii and 31–33). 'Story' and 'narrative' are, in this respect, narratological terms for the second layer. In what follows, however, I do not use these words in the strictly technical sense. See Herman & Vervaeck for a synthetic comparison between the terminology of Genette, Rimmon-Kennan and Bal (2005, 45).

102 De Temmerman & van Emde Boas distinguish between 'character' ("the relatively stable moral, mental, social and personal traits which pertain to an individual"), 'a character' ("the representation of a human or human-like [e.g. including gods] individual in/by a (literary) text.") and 'characterization' ("both the ways in which traits (of all kinds) are ascribed to a character in a text, and the processes by which readers of a text form an image of a character"; De Temmerman & van Emde Boas 2017, 2). For critical summaries of earlier theories on characterization, see also De Temmerman (2010 and 2014), on which De Temmerman & van Emde Boas 2017 builds.

and the different characters, including whoever is being characterized, offer a multitude of perspectives on a single character through speech and focalization (De Temmerman 2014, 42–44). De Temmerman proposes a model in which characterization is inextricably entwined with narratology and reader awareness:[103]

> (…) the portrayal of character [is] an open, dynamic process involving a permanent interaction between (different forms of) attribution of characteristics by narrators (and/or focalizers) on the one hand ('characterization') and the continuous interpretation of such attributions by the reader, who patterns, repatterns, negotiates, and accommodates new information against the background of already-acquired sets of data and assumptions.
>
> DE TEMMERMAN 2014, 28

In this regard, the order in which information is provided is significant for the mental process of constructing a character. The reader is influenced by what he already knows in his further discovery of the character (De Temmerman & van Emde Boas 2017, 18). This notion of 'primacy' is particularly relevant to the linear composition of Quintus' epic.[104] Starting with characters that are, from the proem onwards, described in relation to their Iliadic past—or to other characters with an Iliadic past—the narrative proceeds to new and different situations. Characters must adapt, until those who survive reach the point where the *Odyssey* starts. Awareness of the Homeric horizon which bounds the *Posthomerica* on both sides is therefore crucial to fully understand Quintus' version of the Aeacids. De Temmerman counts "the association of characters with (or dissociation from) intertextual paradigms" among the methods of metaphorical indirect characterization (2014, 35).[105] The relationship between intertextual-

103 On the intrinsic rhetoricity of character construction in a text, see De Temmerman (2010 and 2014, 28–29).

104 Vian has a less positive view on a possibly linear composition of the epic: "Quand Q.S. met au point un chant, il connaît ceux [les chants] qui précèdent, non ceux qui suivent" (1954, 42).

105 De Temmerman also proposes an overarching model of 'techniques of characterization'. Methods of 'direct' and 'indirect' characterization create a continuum of techniques that "activates reader inference to a greater or lesser degree" (De Temmerman 2014, 29). The 'indirect' branch can be subdivided in 'metaphorical' characterization (based on similarity) and 'metonymic' characterization (based on contiguity). Among the latter are counted emotions, group membership, actions, speech, focalization (only in De Temmerman & van Emde Boas 2017, 23–24) and physical appearance of a character. Setting can be both

ity and characterization is particularly relevant for mythological characters, who are "nearly always (…) 'transtextual' (i.e., occurring in more than one text), and their characterization often hinges on their relationship to predecessors of the same name" (De Temmerman & van Emde Boas 2017, 5). Quintus' characters benefit from a rich literary and mythological tradition, which makes them particularly interesting to study in a broader literary context. In many character studies thus far, Homeric intertextuality has, unsurprisingly, been of major interest. When considered too narrowly, however, this approach risks overlooking the complexity of Quintus' ability to 'craft characters'.[106] For example, the general conclusion of Mansur's 1940 study, which only focuses on direct comparison between Homeric and Posthomeric versions of the same character, is that Posthomeric heroes are less complex and prone to idealization.[107] These characters, however, are at once Homeric and not-Homeric. Quintus' position in the tradition is defined in two specific ways. First, he is inextricably linked to the old characters of the story, preferably Homer's specific versions of them. Achilles must live on to die in his epic, as must Ajax Major and many others. Quintus inherits their story lines and has to finish them—or for those who will live to see the *Odyssey*, continue them. Secondly, however, the mythological tradition of the Trojan War announces the arrival of new characters. Quintus is as much influenced by their absence in the *Iliad* as he is by the presence of others in that same epic. To assume that Quintus' characters are mainly based on the *Iliad*, therefore, does not go far enough in assessing his influences. The undeniable impact of the Homeric epics must be considered from a broader perspective, which takes into account its position in a late antique context and long tradition of Homer—and Troy—reception.[108]

metaphorical and metonymical (De Temmerman 2014, 40–41; differently in De Temmerman 2010, 41–42).

106 Expression derived from the title of De Temmerman's 2014 monograph.

107 Later studies have often reached similar conclusions. On less complexity: "Quant aux acteurs du drame de la *Suite d'Homère*, ils sont tout à fait dépourvus de nuances. Les héros sont entièrement prévisibles et pris au premier degré: des super-combattants, tous plus valeureux les uns que les autres, dont les faits d'armes se superposent sans effort" (Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2006, 206). For idealization, see also James (2004, xxvi–xxvii). Among non-Homeric characters, Neoptolemus has often been studied in this respect, as is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

108 Earlier studies who adopt this broader gaze include Boyten (2010) and Maciver's analyses of Helen (2011), Penthesilea and Neoptolemus (2012b).

1.3.4 *Homeric Similes*

A final concept that should be discussed before moving on to the literary analysis of the *Posthomerica* is the Homeric simile. My reasons for placing this discussion at the end of section 1.3 are manifold, as this stylistic feature can be a marker of the three notions explained above:

1) Similes have a long literary tradition. Quintus has a particular liking for them. His use of Homeric similes is a good example of the epic's tendency to go "more Homeric than Homer", both in abundance (see the graphs below) and in the extent to which his similes assimilate to the narrative reality.[109] Similes therefore form a rich source for studying Quintus' intertextuality, both regarding Homer[110] and, possibly, later traditions.[111]
2) Tracing simile patterns is generally accepted as a means to uncover narrative structures in an epic.[112]
3) Similes can serve as a means of metaphorical characterization.[113]

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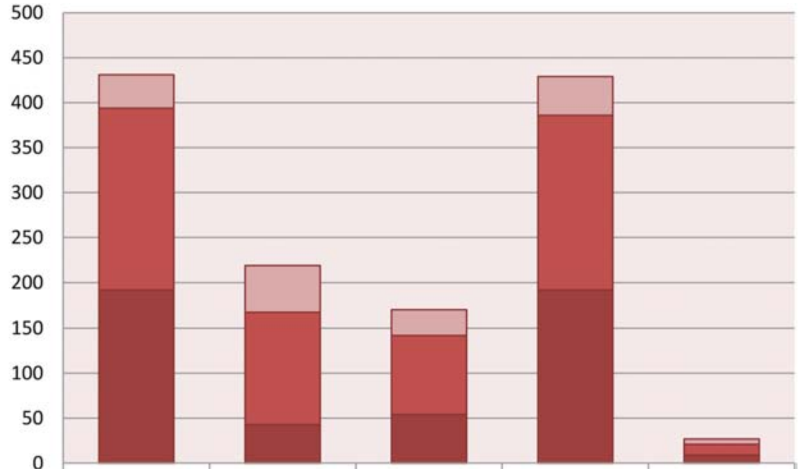
109 I.e. how precisely the simile is shaped in accordance with the narrative context of which it illustrates one aspect (or: how detailed the *tertium comparationis* is; for this term, see footnote 117). For this tendency in the *Posthomerica*, see Maciver (2012b, 175 and n. 194 for further references) and Kauffman (2015, 162–164).

110 "To construct a simile in any text is an evocation of Homer" (Maciver 2012b, 126–129; 126 for the citation).

111 On the possibility of Hellenistic and Apollonian influence, see James (1969, 78), Jahn (the 'interiorization' of Quintus' similes by using them in rather 'unhomeric contexts' such as flight or fear: 2009, 96–107) and Maciver (bee similes: 2012c). Differently Vian, who finds that "it is noticeable that [Quintus] ignores Apollonius' Alexandrian similes" (2001, 287). On intertextuality with Oppian's similes (and their implications for the characterization of Neoptolemus), see Kneebone (2007). Sporadically, scholars even look beyond the epic genre. The scope of Spinoula's extended (animal) simile study includes tragedy, lyricism and Christian sources (2008). Finally, there are similes in the *Posthomerica* that find no clear precedent (James 2004, xxvi). Langella reads Quintus' similes in the light of Stoic characterization (2016).

112 Fränkel first opened the floor for discussion on the broader narrative functions of the Homeric simile. He introduced a distinction between primary (stimulating) functions and secondary (reinforcing) functions (1921, 98–99). Moulton (1974, and especially 1977) elaborates this new idea (described by Buxton as the 'rhetorical-thematic approach': 2004, 141–142) by investigating various types of simile sequences and their effect on narrative structure, including characterization, climactic effects and supporting narrative themes. This tendency has been further elaborated in studies by, among others, Hubbard (antithetical simile pairs, 1981) and Nimis ("The Simile as Textual Stratagem", 1987). Scott, too, critically discusses the creativity of the Homeric simile, in the light of a longer (oral) tradition of imagery that Homer has consciously adopted and creatively applied to his own poems ("The Artistry of the Homeric Simile", 2009). See also Ready, on "character, narrator and simile in the Iliad" (2011).

113 Characterization through similes in Homer is extensively discussed by Moulton (1977, 88–



	Iliad	Odyssey	Argonautica	Posthomerica	Sack of Ilion
Doubt	37	52	28	43	6
Comparison	202	124	88	194	12
Simile	192	43	54	192	9

FIGURE 1 Absolute number of similes and comparisons

Similes form a recurrent thread throughout my analysis, and I am not the first writer to focus on them.[114] Below, I discuss a few general observations with regard to the frequency of Quintus' simile use, and terminology. This allows for a direct focus on more detailed case studies in the following chapters.

116). For Quintus, Maciver provides extensive case studies, on Penthesilea (2012b, 133–153) and on intertextual characterization for Neoptolemus (2012b, 171–192).

114 Maciver gives an overview of Quintus studies about similes going back to the 19th century (2012b, 126 n. 2). In more recent times, Vian has dedicated several studies to them (1954, 2001). Spinoula discusses groups of animal similes and their narrative functions (especially with regard to pathos and human psychology: 2008). Besides his case studies on characterization (see footnote 113), Maciver has also published on Quintus' bee similes (2012c). Jahn discusses the simile as a means of adding focus to a certain scene (2009, 96ff.). I wrote my own MA thesis on the narrative functions of Quintus' similes (2011a; a Dutch summary of this study was published in the same year) and discuss a case study on death similes in Homer and Quintus in my 2017 article. Kauffman incorporates (Post)homeric imagery in the comparative study of slaughter in his PhD dissertation (2015, 153ff.) and his forthcoming article. I would like to thank him for providing me with both texts before publication. See also Langella (2016; 556 for an up to date state of research).

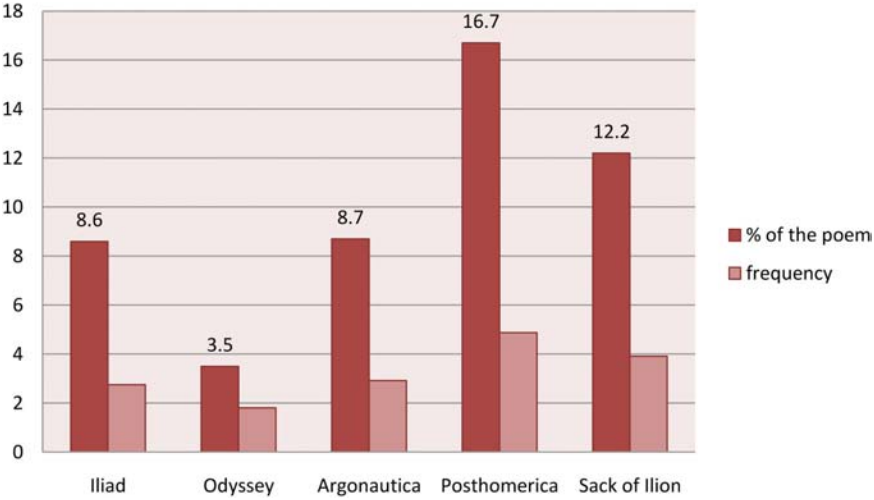
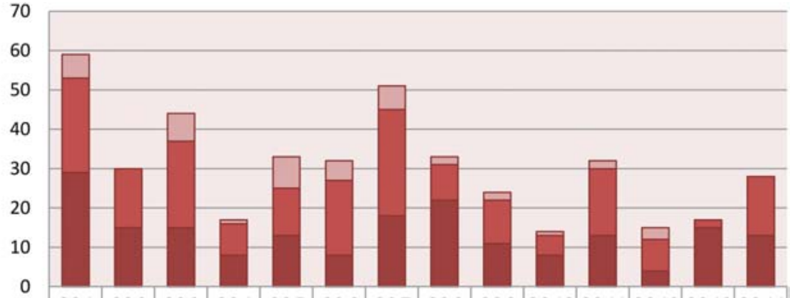


FIGURE 2 Total percentage and frequency of imagery



	QS 1	QS 2	QS 3	QS 4	QS 5	QS 6	QS 7	QS 8	QS 9	QS 10	QS 11	QS 12	QS 13	QS 14
Doubt	6	0	7	1	8	5	6	2	2	1	2	3	0	0
Comparison	24	15	22	8	12	19	27	9	11	5	17	8	2	15
Simile	29	15	15	8	13	8	18	22	11	8	13	4	15	13

FIGURE 3 Absolute number of similes and comparisons in the *Posthomerica*

The counts on which these graphs are based are my own.[115] The absolute occurrences in the first and third graph are subdivided into (extended) 'similes', which usually cover several verses and have their own conjugated verbs, and

115 Other (recent) databases available for Homer include Scott (1974) and Larsen (2007). For Quintus, counts have been conducted by Way (1913, 627–628) and James (2004). Maciver provides a detailed critical discussion of the frequency of Quintus' similes in his monograph (2012b, 126–128). Kauffman makes a selective list of similes on death and slaughter (2015).

short 'comparisons', which lack this independent structure.[116] Any comparison, extended simile or not, consists of three parts: an element in the narrative ('comparandum', for example Achilles) that is compared to something else; the element to which this comparandum is compared ('comparans', for example a lion) and the common ground between comparandum and comparans ('tertium comparationis').[117] Since the same comparans can occur in both short comparisons and extended similes, a connection between these two forms exists, which places them on an aesthetic continuum.[118] For this reason, I treat them together in the counts and analyses to follow unless otherwise stated. I have also included a few more doubtful cases that 'flirt' with the boundaries of 'real' similes and comparisons on the same continuum, in order to create a picture of the entire spectrum of these devices in Quintus' work.[119] I have done the same for Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion*. Among them, Quintus stands out both in percentage of the poem given over to such comparisons and in the frequency with which imagery is used in his *Posthomerica*, surpassing by far the *Iliad* in these measures, as shown

116 The definition of these notions is mainly based on their length (Edwards 1991, 31). See also Maciver's distinction between 'long similes' and 'short similes' (2012b, 126 n. 3). His definition and count of 'short similes', however, does not entirely correspond to mine of 'comparisons'.

117 I use the same terminology as De Temmerman (2014, 31). Other common terms for comparandum and comparans are 'tenor' and 'vehicle' (e.g. Moulton 1977, de Jong 1992, Ready 2011). The tertium comparationis is the most hazardous to determine. Except for the explicit indications of the verbs that introduce and conclude the extended simile, or the main verb that occurs in the phrase of the short comparison, or other verbal similarities between comparans and comparandum, this is mostly based on the interpretation of the reader. Maciver distinguishes between 'explicit' (verbal) and 'implicit' ("thematic, or that can be understood by the reader from the context") correspondences (2012b, 173; with an extensive example ibid. 174).

118 "The difference between long and short similes is not as important as some have thought. The choice is aesthetic: a short simile can add a degree of emphasis to the narrative without injecting the full weight of an expanded simile into a passage" (Scott 2009, 39).

119 Including cases in which the form of a comparison is used in (more or less) fossilized expressions to illustrate descriptions ("as though he were alive"), in figures of speech in character speech ("as a child" or "as a coward") and in the description of (divine) disguises ("as a fog"). Comparisons between two characters in the narrative ("Neoptolemus is like Achilles"), ambiguous formulations *suggesting* comparison rather than expressing it, and passages strongly adhering to the usual content of similes without actually being one (e.g. Nestor's advice to Antilochus in *Iliad* 23.315–318) may also raise doubt. All of these cases flirt with the same stylistic techniques and imagery as real similes and comparisons, and could eventually accomplish a similar effect in the narrative.

in the second graph.[120] This remarkably high frequency has attracted the attention of both critics and admirers of Quintus' mastery of this feature.[121]

My final graph summarizes their dispersion over the fourteen books of the *Posthomerica*. Book 1 has the highest number of similes and comparisons by far, but Book 7, which is shorter, shows the highest frequency (once every 14.4 lines) and Book 8 the highest percentage (26.4%).[122] As noted above, the first simile and the first comparison occur quite early in the epic (both within the first seventeen introductory verses), which establishes the prominent place and use of imagery in the *Posthomerica*. This brings me to the starting point for my literary analysis.

120 Percentages: the division of the number of verses with imagery by the total number of verses of the poem. Frequency: the division of the total number of verses of the poem by the total number of images. In the *Iliad*, an image is found once every 36.4 lines, in the *Odyssey* once every 55.3 lines, in the *Argonautica* every 34.3 lines, in the *Posthomerica* every 20.5 lines and in the *Sack of Ilion* every 25.6 lines. From his own counts, James concludes that a new simile (excl. comparisons) occurs every 76.2 verses in the *Iliad* and every 39.5 verses in the *Posthomerica* (2004, xxv).

121 Mehler criticizes Quintus' "lack of self-control", which in his eyes often leads to exaggerations and pompousness (1961, 38). Bates, on the other hand, finds Quintus' similes "invariably good" (1931, 15).

122 Maciver (2012b, 128). Also Book 11 scores rather high on percentages and frequency. Maciver relates this observation to the battle-focused content of these books (and in Books 7 and 8, on Neoptolemus specifically).

PART 1

Heroic Characters

CHAPTER 2

Penthesilea and Memnon: Two Ways to Fight Achilles

Let me be your hero …[1]

• •
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As has been discussed in Chapter 1, the proem in *Posthomerica* 1 takes up the thread where the *Iliad* has ended. The events in Book 1 will mark the switch from the old Iliadic plot to the new Posthomeric one. The most important character to make this transition is Achilles, who will shortly meet a few new opponents and his own death. This first chapter of literary analysis starts where Quintus does, with the events in the first two books of the *Posthomerica*, and more specifically with an analysis of the first two new heroic characters: Penthesilea and Memnon. Not only are they the 'local protagonists'[2] of Books 1 and 2, whose characterization is entirely Quintus' to shape, but their appearance also brings Achilles back to the battlefield, after the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad*. Hence, they allow a first, valuable glimpse of the way in which Quintus' heroic characters are represented, as well as how they are perceived by the narrator and their fellow characters. However, probably the most valuable aspect of the (re-)introductory function of these two books lies in their interaction with one another.

Books 1 and 2 contain the seemingly autonomous, yet obviously parallel tales of two new Trojan allies, the Amazon Queen Penthesilea and Eos' son Memnon. After Hector's death, they in turn arrive in Troy with the ambitious intent of defeating Achilles, but are each eventually killed by his hand. The respective descriptions of the arrival, reception and battle performances of both heroes show remarkable similarities which, as a consequence, also highlight the clear differences between them. As such, they form a clearly established narrative

1 "Hero"—Enrique Iglesias.

2 'Local' not in a geographical sense, for both new heroes have travelled quite some ground to reach Troy, but in a structural sense: Penthesilea is a protagonist only 'locally' (or temporarily) in Book 1. The same goes for Memnon in Book 2.

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diptych that, in addition to telling two separate stories, also invites a comparative study between the exact representation of these two champions, their heroic beliefs and practice, their reputation in the eyes of their fellow characters and specifically their relations to Achilles. Earlier studies on *Posthomerica* 1 and 2 have most typically focused on source criticism[3] and a few valuable commentaries,[4] but the parallel composition of these books has occasionally attracted attention in more recent studies.[5] This chapter aims to take the study of the explicit interdependence of both books, and especially the significantly contrasting characterization of its two new heroes, one step further. I first follow Penthesilea through Book 1, from her arrival to her death on the battlefield, and examine how her ambiguous nature as a female warrior provokes several characters and the narrator into explicit reflections on the mechanisms of war (section 2.1). Next, after outlining the clearly parallel structure of Books 1 and 2 (section 2.2), I compare Memnon's characterization as a battlefield champion to Penthesilea's and investigate where they differ and how this is relevant for Achilles' own re-introduction to the Posthomeric plot (section 2.3).[6]

3 Especially before and until Vian (1963, 1959). For *Posthomerica* 1 and 2, particularly the assumed—yet unproven—influence of the Epic Cycle (and of the *Aethiopis* in particular) has been investigated (several contributions of Sodano, De Wit 1951 and Camerotto 2011, 407–417).

4 Bär on Book 1, lines 1–219 (2009), and Campagnolo (2012 online diss.) and Ferreccio (2014) on Book 2.

5 Vian points to the diptych-like structure of the first two books (1963 T1, 4–5) and also discusses the main contrasts in his text edition (ibid. 48–49, followed by Lelli ed. 2013, 701). Modern scholarship is most indebted to his fundamental observations about the overall narrative composition of the epic. Calero Secall compares the arrival scenes of both books (1995b), and Campagnolo discusses some general similarities (2012, 114). Goţia has provided a first comparative study of the characterization of Penthesilea and Memnon, but limits his scope to their representation in terms of colours, light and darkness (2007 and 2008). Ferreccio's occasional observations about the parallels between Penthesilea and Memnon tend to overlook the more subtle contrasts between the characters (e.g. 2014, 70–72). My own article "Facing Achilles in Two Lessons: Heroic Characterization in Quintus of Smyrna, Posthomerica 1 and 2" discusses the contrasting parallels between both books in more detail (2016b).

6 Given the primarily intra-textual focus of this chapter, I will not make an extensive intertextual analysis of Penthesilea and Memnon. As a result, I do not discuss the possible link of Quintus' Penthesilea to Vergil's Camilla. The matter of intertextual interplay between the characters remains hazardous (Vian 1959, 24–25 and Gärtner 2005, 65). Maciver addresses it with a hint of caution (2012c, 63). Gärtner (2005, 43–65), Boyten (2010, 39–43) and Fratantuono (2016) can be consulted for a comparative analysis of both characters. See also Horsfall, for the influence of Arctinus on both authors (2004).

2.1 Penthesilea

Penthesilea arrives immediately after the introductory verses of Book 1, in which the Trojans mourn Hector and hide for Achilles behind the city walls. Section 1.1.2 has already pointed out the absence of the Muses in the proem. A few scholars have suggested that the arrival of a female heroine might compensate for this remarkable lack. Bouvier interprets this sudden appearance of 'Penth'-esilea as an invocation of mourning (πένθος) rather than glory (κλέος, as provided by the Muses) at the beginning of this epic. To stress his point, he indicates that the real Muses—in the shape of goddesses—only show up to mourn Achilles in Book 3 (Bouvier 2005, 49–51). Bär is more optimistic in his interpretation: he considers Penthesilea's appearance as a hopeful epiphany after the depressed focalization of the Trojans in the proem (2007, 35 and 2009, 141). In any case, Trojan hope is restored as soon as the Amazons come into view. From the city walls, the Trojans catch a first glimpse of their new champion (Q.S. 1.18–73). This first impression is crucial for the further characterization of Penthesilea in Book 1.

2.1.1 *Arrival*

Before telling us anything else, the narrator reveals that Penthesilea has come to Troy for two reasons: she has a taste for war (στονόεντος ἐελδομένη πολέμοιο, Q.S. 1.20), but she also seeks purgation for accidentally killing her sister. This double motivation has long been a matter of debate. Bär notes that the *Posthomerica* introduces Penthesilea without discussing the legendary hostility between the Trojans and the Amazons. Penthesilea's specific background as a refugee may be needed to justify her coming to Troy (Bär 2009, 167–169), but this should not overshadow the other impulse of the Amazon Queen to join this war, namely her bellicose temperament, stressed again in line 27 (θυμὸς ἀρήιος). Why is this fact separately mentioned? According to older conclusions of source criticism, Penthesilea's double motivation in the *Posthomerica* could be the result of an eclecticism of sources (e.g. De Wit 1951, 41–47). As it stands, however, both reasons strengthen each other: their juxtaposition encourages the reader to relate Penthesilea's blood thirst to the death of her sister in a hunting accident. The Amazon Queen loves to wield a spear, but apparently has difficulties controlling it. Thus, Penthesilea's past strongly indicates her impetuousness, which will be a vital characteristic of her heroic behaviour throughout Book 1. Her followers similarly long for war ("all of them eager for war and for brutal combat", Q.S. 1.34), as some of their possibly invented names suggest (De Wit 1951, 47–50). In his commentary, Bär makes a more detailed study of the origin of all twelve Amazon names (listed in Q.S. 1.42–46) and identifies five of them,

unique to the *Posthomerica*, as 'speaking names', indicating 'manly' fighting skills or war lust (2009, 218–219). Names like Πολεμοῦσα and Δηριμάχεια speak for themselves. Still, the glorious aura of the Amazons is not primarily pugnacious, as descriptions of their beauty reveal.

The first visual impression of the arrival does not immediately betray Penthesilea's motivations. She appears "clothed in godlike beauty" (θεῶν ἐπιειμένη εἶδος, Q.S. 1.19) and outshines her entourage of twelve splendid Amazons in two similes: as the moon among stars (Q.S. 1.37–41) and as Eos among her servants, the Horae (Q.S. 1.48–53). Her excellence is explicitly related to her splendid form (ἀγλαὸν εἶδος, Q.S. 1.51). This is literally repeated in the admiring focalization of the Trojans six lines later: she looks "like one of the blessed immortals" (εἰδομένην μακάρεσσιν, Q.S. 1.56) because of "a beauty that frightened and dazzled at once" (ἄμφω σμερδαλέον τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εἶδος, Q.S. 1.57). In a third image, her appearance fills the hearts of the Trojans with hope: she is like the sight of a rainbow after bad weather (Q.S. 1.63–72).[7] Priam is the last one to catch sight of her. He is compared to a blind man seeing a first glimpse of light after a long time (Q.S. 1.76–83).[8] He too dares to hope again, albeit only slightly. This hesitation is repeated three times: μέγ' ἀκηχεμένοιο περὶ φρεσὶ τυτθὸν ἰάνθη ("[His] heart, greatly distressed, received a little comfort", about Priam at the beginning of the simile: Q.S. 1.75), οὐ μὲν ὅσον τὸ πάροιθεν, ὅμως δ' ἄρα βαιὸν ἰάνθη ("Not as well as before, but he's comforted a little", about the blind man in the simile: Q.S. 1.80) and παῦρον μὲν γήθησε ("He felt a little joy", about Priam at the end of the simile: Q.S. 1.84). In this cluster of four similes, Maciver sees a significant climax in focalization: whereas the simile about the moon is rendered through the narrator, the following simile about Eos is perceived through Trojan eyes. This secondary focalization is strengthened in the rainbow image, which illustrates the hope of those who see it. Finally, the series zooms in on one particular spectator, Priam, whose expectations are not quite as hopeful. Hence, the four similes reflect not only individual impressions about the Amazons, but also characterize Penthesilea through the eyes of the watchers and, finally, raise implicit doubt about her shining appearance (Maciver 2012b, 132–140). Together, these bellicose inten-

7 For a closer study of these three images of light and their effect on the presentation of Penthesilea's beauty, see Goţia (2008, 68–70) and especially Maciver (2012b, 135–138).

8 The simile of Priam as a blind man, which has a clearly doubtful undertone, has recurrently been the subject of literary and even medical analysis: see also Vian (1963 T1, 15 n. 2), James (2004, 269), Ozbek (2007, 177–179) and extensively Bär (2009, 266–290). The simile is often compared to another passage in Q.S. 12.399–415, where the priest Laocoon is punished with an atrocious blindness.

tions and beautiful visualization, aptly summarized as ἄμφω σμερδαλέον τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εἶδος (“There was a beauty that frightened and dazzled at once”) in line 57, paint an initially ambiguous picture of Penthesilea, which immediately lays bare an important duality key to her Amazon nature (Goţia 2008, 70). The particularities of the characterization of Penthesilea as an Amazon and her subsequent representation as an ambiguous figure and an uncommon warrior form an important consideration for the rest of this study.[9] In Penthesilea’s first appearance, moreover, a first doubtful voice is introduced. This doubt, too, will become a thread throughout her characterization; hope and doubt will go hand in hand as she makes her way to and through battle, and opinions about her potential will considerably differ. The Trojans will be the first to make their judgment, as they get better acquainted with the newly arrived warrior queen.

Upon her arrival, the Amazon Queen is warmly welcomed with a banquet, which she eagerly attends. Bär discusses the stages of this banquet following the typology of Bettenworth 2004, who analyses the ‘Gastmahl’ as a typical epic scene. Quintus’ version shortens the usual framework considerably (Bär 2009, 291 and n. 945). The banquet scene will be mirrored by a supper in the Achaean camp after the battle of the next day (Q.S. 1.828–830). Bär identifies an intertextual relationship of these meals with two Iliadic scenes, namely Achilles’ refusal of food before his revenge (*Iliad* 19.205–210) and his supper with Priam (*Iliad* 24.621–627). In contrast, Penthesilea’s eager acceptance of food before her success may enforce the dramatic irony of her fate (Bär ibid. 292). The banquet is Penthesilea’s first opportunity to voice her own view on the war. She makes a boastful promise:

> Ἣ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπέσχετο ἔργον ὃ οὔ ποτε θνητὸς ἐώλπει,
> δῃώσειν Ἀχιλῆα καὶ εὐρέα λαὸν ὀλέσσειν
> Ἀργείων, νῆας δὲ πυρὸς καθύπερθε βαλέσθαι,

9 See also Bär, who analyses the existential tension evoked by the (barbarian) concept of ‘a woman on the battlefield’ in the light of the Second Sophistic (2009), and Boyten (2010, Chapter 1). Other studies include Vian (1963 T1, 4), Schmiel (1986), Calero Secall (who has published widely on the particularities of Penthesilea in contrast to other women in the *Posthomerica*, e.g. in the use of male epithets to stress her specifically virile qualities: 1992) and Sánchez Barragán (2001). A summary of this discussion can be found in Lelli (ed. 2013, 675, 683). Lovatt includes Quintus’ Penthesilea in her study of “Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic” (2013). I will not go deeper into the gender debate myself, but occasionally refer to it when Penthesilea’s femininity resurfaces, or when characters discuss the ambiguous nature of the Amazons in the Greek text (e.g. Q.S. 1.455–463 and 1.558–559).

νηπίη· οὐδέ τι ᾔδη ἐυμμελίην Ἀχιλῆα,
ὅσσον ὑπέρτατος ἦεν ἐνὶ φθισήνορι χάρμῃ.

Q.S. 1.93–97

Her promise was a deed for which no mortal had hoped—
To kill Achilles, destroy the mighty host
Of Argos and toss their ships upon a fire.
The fool! She did not know how matchless was Achilles
Of the ashwood spear in man-destroying battle.

Penthesilea's first words (in indirect speech) are immediately countered by an exclamation of the narrator. The word νηπίη is well-known from the *Iliad*. As the first word in a Homeric verse, the term is frequently used by the omniscient narrator to describe characters who do, say or believe something foolish, often too optimistic.[10] In this passage, it obviously indicates the foolishness of Penthesilea's audacious claim and casts a shadow over her bellicose ambitions.[11] Even before she has touched her weapons, her battle vigour is compared to that of her hoped-for opponent Achilles and marked as unquestionably inferior. The first character who replies to Penthesilea, albeit in a speech to herself and not directly addressed to the Amazon Queen, seems to agree with the narrator, and makes it even more explicit. Andromache's warning is the first direct speech in the epic whatsoever, and the only one in this banquet scene.[12] This makes her words especially emphatic, or at the very least ominous for the reader:

10 De Jong understands the word νήπιος in Homer as a form of internal prolepsis by the primary narrator-focalizer, which implicitly serves as a reminder of the limitations of the human race and their dependency on Fate (1987, 86–87). The use of νήπιος in Quintus is clearly inspired by Homer. Boyten gives a short overview of the occurrences of the word in the *Posthomerica* (2010, 261–262), Schmitz discusses its general use (2007, 67–68) and Bär concludes that Quintus' νήπιος can serve the same three functions as in the *Iliad*: prolepsis (see also Duckworth 1936, 62), characterization and de Jong's *vanitas* reflection (Bär 2009, 315–318).

11 Bär draws particular attention to the negative implications for Penthesilea's characterization and her foreshadowed death in this first appearance of the word (2009, 316). Goţia examines its ominous undertone in contrast to Penthesilea's initial splendour (2008, 77–78).

12 Compared to Homer, this first speech is situated rather late in the epic. In Book 1 of the *Iliad*, Chryses is the first to speak, from verse 17 onward. In the *Odyssey*, Zeus makes the first speech, starting on 1.32. Apollonius, on the other hand, introduces his first speech no earlier than in line 242, Triphiodorus in line 120 and Nonnus in line 93. For this and other statistics about speech in epic texts, I rely on the online http://www.dsgep.ugent.be/ database that forms a useful appendix to the 2016 monograph of Berenice Verhelst.

"Ἆ δειλή, τί νυ τόσσα μέγα φρονέουσ' ἀγορεύεις;
Οὐ γάρ τοι σθένος ἐστὶν ἀταρβέι Πηλείωνι
μάρνασθ', ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὦκα φόνον καὶ λοιγὸν ἐφήσει.
Λευγαλέη, τί μέμηνας ἀνὰ φρένας; Ἦ νύ τοι ἄγχι
ἕστηκε⟨ν⟩ Θανάτοιο τέλος καὶ Δαίμονος Αἶσα.
Ἕκτωρ γὰρ σέο πολλὸν ὑπέρτερος ἔπλετο δουρί·
ἀλλ' ἐδάμη κρατερός περ ἐών, μέγα δ' ἤκαχε Τρῶας
οἵ ἑ θεὸν ὣς πάντες ἀνὰ πτόλιν εἰσορόωντο·
καί μοι ἔην μέγα κῦδος ἰδ' ἀντιθέοις τοκέεσσι
ζωὸς ἐών. Ὡς εἴ με χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κεκεύθει,
πρίν σφε δι' ἀνθερεῶνος ὑπ' ἔγχεϊ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι.
Νῦν δ' ἄρ' ἀάσπετον ἄλγος ὀιζυρῶς ἐσάθρησα,
κεῖνον ὅτ' ἀμφὶ πόληα ποδώκεες εἵρυον ἵπποι
ἀργαλέως Ἀχιλῆος, ὅ μ' ἀνέρος εὖνιν ἔθηκε
κουριδίου, τό μοι αἰνὸν ἄχος πέλει ἤματα πάντα."

Andromache: Q.S. 1.100–114

"Poor woman, why do you make such claims in your pride?
You haven't the strength to fight the fearless son
Of Peleus; quick death and destruction he'll deal to you.
Poor thing, what madness possesses you? Beside you
Stand the end of life and the doom of heaven.
Hector was your better by far with the spear,
But for all his strength he was killed and grieved the Trojans;
All the city had looked to him as to a god.
He was my glory and his noble parents' glory
While he lived. I wish the earth had been heaped on me
Before a spear thrust through his throat cost him his life.
And then unspeakable pain to me was the pitiful sight
Of him so cruelly dragged around the city by Achilles'
Fleet-foot horses. That man took my husband and made me
A widow, bitterly grieving all my days."

Andromache's speech starts as a pessimistic prophecy about Penthesilea's fate, repeats Achilles' unmatchable vigour and again underlines it by referring to Hector's doom. This speech adds to Penthesilea's characterization in various ways: her *hybris* is scorned, and in the hierarchy of the battlefield, such as Andromache perceives it, she is not only inferior to Achilles, but also to Hector. However, rather than being an objective account of the odds on the battlefield, Andromache's statement is naturally coloured by her situation: she contem-

plates the entire war as a side character and a widow, while her addressee, though a woman, pretends to take Hector's place and endorses his male battle *hybris*. In the battle hierarchy Andromache sketches, Penthesilea occupies a place below Hector, but Bär rightfully indicates that it is unclear under what pretences this happens. He identifies the first premise of Andromache's syllogism, namely "Hector is superior to Penthesilea in battle", as false, since both heroes have never proved as much in a direct confrontation. Hence, Bär assumes that Andromache rather judges Penthesilea on her female nature, which 'could not be superior to that of men in battle' (Bär 2009, 343). The fact that Andromache has correctly anticipated Hector's death in the *Iliad*, on the other hand, may add an extra ominous touch to her opinion of Penthesilea's chances.[13] Andromache's words show clear intertextuality with her speeches in the *Iliad*, particularly her goodbye to Hector in Book 6 and her lament in Book 22.[14] Hence, Andromache is emotionally engaged, both as a woman who sees another woman out of place and as widow who sees her husband replaced by that ambiguous figure. Still, Andromache's judgment of the situation somehow connects to that of the narrator before: to characterize Hector, she uses the words σέο πολλὸν ὑπέρτερος (Q.S. 1.105), which echo the narrator's warning about Achilles in verse 97.[15] Both agree on at least one thing: Penthesilea is a fool to believe that she will slay Achilles. It appears that she cannot dream of being more successful than Hector, whose place she will essentially take as Troy's main champion.[16]

Dream, however, Penthesilea does. During the night, Athena sends her a false dream of victory (Q.S. 1.123–137),[17] which the Amazon Queen believes. The

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13 For a few reflections on grieving women in the *Posthomerica* in general, see section 4.2.1.1.

14 Bär provides an extensive study of this intertextual relationship and more reflection on the complex gender situation of the confrontation between Andromache and Penthesilea (2009, 324–328).

15 The Posthomeric occurrences of the words ὑπέρτερος and ὑπέρτατος are mostly found in the debate about heroic superiority, when champions are compared to others. Once it is used for deities (Zeus superior to the other gods, Q.S. 1.705) and once for the Achaean army (their courage prevails, Q.S. 11.284). The other occurrences in the *Posthomerica*, implying a (hoped-for) superiority of one hero over another, include Q.S. 2.318 (Memnon over Nestor, according to Memnon), 4.481 (Ajax Major over all Achaeans in the fist-fight), 5.202 (Ajax Major over Odysseus, according to Ajax Major), 5.241 (Odysseus over Ajax Major, according to Odysseus), 5.462 (Ajax Major as a mountain over all others), 7.665 (Neoptolemus over Eurypylus and Achilles over his father, according to Phoenix; see section 4.2.1.2). The combination with πόλλον forms a recurring phrase in the debate between Odysseus and Ajax in Book 5 (Bär 2009, 344; see section 3.3.2 footnote 113).

16 For Penthesilea's relationship to Hector, see section 2.1.3.

17 On dreaming scenes in the *Posthomerica*, see Guez (1999; 82–85 for this dream). I do not agree that this particular dream serves no dramatic purpose in the narrative (see also

narrator, however, calls her νηπίη once more (Q.S. 1.134). Foolishly ignorant of this divine deception, she dons her armour, which is a gift from her father, Ares. The description of this scene again emphasizes the brilliance of her appearance, for example in two similes about the moon (for her shield, Q.S. 1.147–150) and Zeus' lightning (for her full appearance, Q.S. 1.153–156). Goţia interprets the thunderstorm simile as an expression of Penthesilea's duality: she represents light for the Trojans and darkness for the Achaeans (2008, 75). More sensibly, perhaps, Bär argues that Penthesilea's duality lies in the double focus on her beauty and her terrifying appearance (2009, 434), which was clearly evoked in the description of her arrival as well (see for example Q.S. 1.57). To depict a hero in full flashing armour is also a Homeric *topos*, and Quintus repeatedly uses the image of Zeus' lightning for other champions as well.[18] Despite a few peculiarities in her arming scene, then,[19] Penthesilea unmistakably goes into battle as a warrior—her final battle, as the narrator nevertheless significantly adds (Q.S. 1.172). A last, desperate prayer of Priam (the second direct speech in the *Posthomerica*) only evokes a bad omen from Zeus (Q.S. 1.182–204), sealing Penthesilea's fate. Her doom is quite clear, even before she has reached the battlefield.[20]

2.1.2 *Battle*

Despite these bad prospects, Penthesilea's only day of fighting sees a flying start. The narration begins with a shift of focus to the Achaeans, who, after the uniquely Trojan impressions of Penthesilea's arrival, now render her perception significantly more 'pluriperspektivisch' (Bär 2009, 506–507). To the Achaeans, the on-marching Trojans look like wild animals in the mountains (Q.S. 1.207–208) and their commander is a raging fire (Q.S. 1.209–210). In the

Wenglinsky 2002, 297). Although it does not provide us with new information or instigate new action, it contributes to the dramatic irony of Penthesilea's character. Moreover, rather than being "a clumsy insertion of Homerizing episodes, or, alternatively, an indication of his close dependence on the traditional story" (Wenglinsky 2002, 294), this scene can be understood as a skilful adaptation of Agamemnon's false dream in *Iliad* 2 (Bär 2009, 362–366).

18 Bär discusses Homeric examples (2009, 433–436). In the *Posthomerica*, lightning recurs as a comparans for various heroes in a battle (preparation) context: e.g. Achilles' armour (Q.S. 2.207), Ajax Major (Q.S. 3.293), Eurypylus' armour (Q.S. 6.197), Neoptolemus (Q.S. 8.222–227) and Aeneas' armour (Q.S. 11.411).

19 Penthesilea's arming scene (Q.S. 1.138–160) is the only complete 'panhoplie' in the *Posthomerica*. Traditional elements are combined with attributes typical of an Amazon warrior (Bär 2009, 401–407).

20 For a complete list of anticipations, see Vian (1963 T1, 5 n. 1).

ensuing τις-speech,[21] an Achaean wonders at the sudden courage of the Trojans (Q.S. 1.212–219). He had not thought that the Trojans would take courage again after Hector's death. Thus, the Achaean implicitly calls to mind the beginning situation of the epic, and more specifically the impasse described in the proem, which has now been solved. In awe of this new commander, yet unknown to the Achaeans, he compares him[22] to a god. This selective focalization is significant for Penthesilea's characterization again: from a distance, she is only perceived as a strong battle commander who has again roused the Trojans after Hector's death.

Penthesilea's first actions on the battlefield immediately demonstrate her warrior vigour. The day's first kills are hers, even if afterwards several of her Amazons are quickly slain. After several digressions to other scenes on the battlefield, focus shifts back to Penthesilea in line 314, for the first part of her *aristeia* in battle.[23] She is compared to a lioness (Q.S. 1.315–318)[24] and a sea

21 "Τις-Rede: Direkte Rede einer nicht mit Namen identifizierten Figur (τις), oft als Ausdruck dessen, 'was die Allgemeinheit meint'" (Nünlist & de Jong 2000, 170). A distinction should be made between actual τις-speech and potential τις-speech, which represents only the hypothesis that "one could/would say" something. Bär stresses their important narrative potential (2009, 507–508).

22 It is plausible that the Achaean expects a male champion, given the word choice for the masculine φαίης κεν θεὸν ἔμμεν in line 216 (Bär 2009, 506). Indeed, in other cases, Penthesilea is most often (but not always; see e.g. Q.S. 1.19, 56 and 662) compared to specifically female goddesses, such as the Moon and Eos (see also section 2.1.1), Athena or Eris (Q.S. 1.179–181), ἐπουρανίῃσι θεῇσιν ("heavenly goddesses": Q.S. 1.190, in Priam's prayer), and later on Ker (line 336), Athena, Enyo, Eris or Leto's daughter (Q.S. 1.363–366, in a Trojan τις-speech), again Artemis (Q.S. 1.663–665) and ἀθανάτῃσιν ("the immortals": 674). A few other battle images seem to be adapted to Penthesilea's gender as well: e.g. a lioness (Q.S. 1.315–318) and a leopard (Q.S. 1.540–546; Spinoula 2008, 253–254). See footnotes 24, 28 and 56 for further discussion of several of these images.

23 The term '*aristeia*' cannot be applied to the Posthomeric heroes in the strictly formal sense of the word. Schein summarizes that the typically Homeric '*aristeia*' consist of five stages, starting with the arming scene and including the hero's wounding, recovery and the fight over a corpse he has slain (1984, 80–82). Penthesilea's performance starts with her armouring. Next, she indeed turns the tide of battle, but fails to slay a significant opponent and the only wounds she takes are lethal. Many other heroes to be discussed will suffer similar fates. Therefore, I use the term '*aristeia*' more broadly than in the strictly formal sense to indicate those passages in the epic where the leading hero is prominent on the battlefield.

24 There are only three Posthomeric similes involving a lioness: Q.S. 1.315–318 (Penthesilea in battle), 3.201–205 (Trojan women longing for revenge) and 12.580–585 (Cassandra attempting to destroy the Horse). Each of these cases is linked to the comparans of the leopard, either in another simile about the same character (Q.S. 1.479–480 and 1.540–546 for Penthesilea; 12.580–585 for Cassandra), or as another animal in the same simile (Q.S. 3.201–2.05 for the Trojan women). Both comparantia are exclusively used for women in the

wave (Q.S. 1.320–324) and then makes her first direct speech in the *Posthomerica*: she threatens all the Achaeans and, as it turns out that their major heroes Diomedes, Achilles and Ajax are nowhere to be found on the battlefield, she audaciously challenges them in their absence. Characterization through direct speech thus again stresses her impetuous lust for war and her high ambitions:

> "Πῇ νῦν Τυδείδαο βίη, πῇ δ' Αἰακίδαο,
> ποῦ δὲ καὶ Αἴαντος; Τοὺς γὰρ φάτις ἔμμεν ἀρίστους·
> ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ τλήσονται ἐναντία δηριάασθαι
> μή σφιν ἀπὸ μελέων ψυχὰς φθιμένοισι πελάσσω."
>
> Penthesilea: Q.S. 1.331–334

> "Where now is the might of Tydeus' son, where that of Achilles
> Or of Ajax? They are famed as your best,
> Yet they will not dare to face me in combat,
> For fear I take souls from bodies and send them to the dead."

Penthesilea's challenge simultaneously acknowledges the supreme status of Diomedes, Ajax and Achilles and claims their defeat *in absentia*, in her favour. Her scornful words are inspired by the heroic aim in which she and her Achaean opponents are united: as indicated in section 1.2 (and as further discussed below in Chapter 3), the top-class heroes are engaged in a never-ending competition to be 'the best'.[25] Champions who pride themselves on holding that title must constantly defend it. This dynamic 'battlefield hierarchy' is an important heroic motivation throughout Quintus' epic, established by the narrator and further confirmed or contested by several characters, both on the battlefield and beyond.[26] In Book 1, this competition revolves around Penthesilea's belief that she can keep up with Achilles and his kind. From the very beginning, however, this is recurrently and quite firmly contested. At this point in the narrative, the reader is already aware of her impending failure and doom. Thus, Penthe-

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Posthomerica. On the differences between lions and lionesses as comparans, see Spinoula (2008, 247–254).

25 On Penthesilea's adherence to the Homeric heroic code, see Sánchez Barragán (2001, 87–95). He compares the Amazon's *aristeia* to Achilles' in *Iliad* 21–22 and concludes that both heroes persue the same values and give proof of an equally impetuous and violent attitude on the battlefield.

26 Later in the *Posthomerica*, this issue recurs in the judgment of arms (section 3.3), Neoptolemus' aspirations to be worthy of his father (Chapter 4) and the choice of heroes who will enter the Horse (Chapter 5).

silea's currently successful war rage is overshadowed by dramatic irony: she will not stand a chance against the opponents whom she now summons. The temporary absence of Achilles and Ajax has granted her some glorious moments so far, but both heroes are also constantly called to mind in the warnings of other characters and the second thoughts of the narrator, so that it cannot be forgotten that they are still expected (Vian 1963 T1, 5). In her rage, however, Penthesilea only sees her assumed superiority confirmed by their absence, and her battle spirit is roused to its climax. At this point, the Trojan warriors believe in her future victory as much as the Amazon Queen herself does, and they praise her vigour in an admiring τις-speech (Q.S. 1.358–372):

> "Οὐ γὰρ τήνδε γυναῖκά γ' ὀίομαι εἰσοράασθαι
> αὔτως θαρσαλέην τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ τεύχε' ἔχουσαν,
> ἀλλ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίην ἢ καρτερόθυμον Ἐνυὼ
> ἢ Ἔριν ἠ⟨ὲ⟩ κλυτὴν Λητωίδα·"
>
> Trojan τις: Q.S. 1.363–366

> "For this is surely not a woman we see,
> As brave as she is and wearing such splendid armor,
> But rather Athena, or Enyo the bold of heart,
> Or Strife, or Leto's famous daughter."

Rather than as a mere 'woman', Penthesilea is perceived as a fierce divinity, brave and with shining armour. The verbal echo of ἀγλαὰ τεύχε' (Q.S. 1.364) again refers to the ἀγλαὸν εἶδος (Q.S. 1.57) that characterized her during her arrival (Goţia 2008, 76). This time, her appearance is praised in the context of battle. Paradoxically, the explicit words οὐ γὰρ τήνδε γυναῖκα specifically draw attention to the fact that she is a woman as much as to the fact that she is brave and wears armour.[27] In the middle of her most successful performances as a warrior, Penthesilea's ambiguous nature as a female on the battlefield again resounds in the wonder of the Trojans. Just as they marvelled at her beautiful appearance during the arrival, they now revel in her courage, and aptly identify her with female deities whose nature she matches: virginal goddesses such as Artemis and Athena, who carry weapons themselves.[28] In the rest of the τις-

27 I do not agree with Lovatt that Penthesilea is indistinguishable from male heroes in her depiction throughout her *aristeia* (2013, 306).

28 It is a straightforward choice to use virginal goddesses such as Artemis and Athena to characterize the Amazon Queen (for further discussion, see Bär 2009, 197–198), although Fratantuono finds "there is something of an air of inappropriate excess in these verses",

speech, the Trojans believe that the Achaeans will now definitively be defeated. Again, however, the narrator scorns such great expectations of the new champion. He calls the Trojan 'someone' νήπιος (Q.S. 1.374) and repeats that, as long as Achilles and Ajax are not joining the fight, nothing can be sure. This is the third and last time the word νήπιος is used in Book 1. All three instances apply to those who believe in Penthesilea's success.

After thus repeatedly subduing all hope about Penthesilea, the narrator finally reveals why she can temporarily be successful: "One of the blessed gods" (μακάρων τις, Q.S. 1.380) is still holding Achilles and Ajax back at the tomb of Patroclus. By zooming out to this omniscient perspective, the narrator brings important nuance to Penthesilea's current superiority. The praise she is gaining is only a brief gift from Aisa:

(…) Εἰσέτι γάρ μιν
389a [οὕνεκα Μοῖρα ποτὶ κλεινὸν ὀτρύνουσ' Ἀχιλῆα][29]
Αἶσα λυγρὴ κύδαινεν· ἀπόπροθι δ' ἑστηυῖα
χάρμης κυδιάασκεν ὀλέθριον, οὕνεκ' ἔμελλε
κούρην οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ὑπ' Αἰακίδαο χέρεσσι
δάμνασθ'·

Q.S. 1.389–393

(…) For still
Grim Fate exalted her; it stood apart from the fighting
In deadly exultation, knowing that soon
It would destroy that girl at the hands of Aeacus' grandson.

While still showering the Amazon Queen with glory, Aisa is pulling the strings and exulting in anticipation: soon Achilles will kill Penthesilea. In her ignorance, Penthesilea is granted some final moments of honour (ὕστατα κυδαίνουσ', Q.S. 1.395). Thus, after many implicit and subjective doubts, the climax of Penthesilea's fighting is finally marked by a clear view of the future, in which she will mainly serve as prey for Achilles. Her next battle simile, which is focalized by the narrator only, incorporates this pessimistic prospect:

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and the divine comparisons in particular (2016, 222). For another Artemis simile describing Penthesilea, see section 2.1.3 and footnote 56.

29 Based on metrical incorrectness and—according to the editor—insensible contents, Vian marks this as a corrupt verse, which is why Gärtner 2010 deletes it altogether, as does James in his 2004 translation.

ὡς δ' ὁπόθ' ἑρσήεντος ἔσω κήποιο θοροῦσα
ποίης ἐλδομένη θυμηδέος εἴαρι πόρτις,
ἀνέρος οὐ παρεόντος, ἐπέσσυται ἄλλοθεν ἄλλῃ
σινομένη φυτὰ πάντα νέον μάλα τηλεθόωντα,
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρ κατέδαψε, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶν ἠμάλδυνεν·
ὣς ἄρ' Ἀχαιῶν υἷας ἐπεσσυμένη καθ' ὅμιλον
κούρη Ἐνυαλίη τοὺς μὲν κτάνε, τοὺς δ' ἐφόβησε
Q.S. 1.396–402

As a heifer in springtime leaps into a garden
Eager for the pleasure of its dewy grass,
When no one is present; it rushes in all directions
And ruins the plants that before were all so flourishing,
Devouring some and trampling others under foot;
So that warrior maiden went rushing through the throng
Of Achaeans, killing some and putting others to flight.

The setting in which this powerful and destructive calf is depicted further encourages an ambiguous interpretation of Penthesilea's battle vigour. The choice to use a calf in this simile is significant; one simile on the Iliadic battlefield describes the newly slain Patroclus as a calf, protected by Menelaus, the active warrior, who is depicted as its lamenting mother (*Iliad* 17.4–6)—an ominous division of roles, if this image were to be transposed to Penthesilea's prospects in battle. Furthermore, it is generally unusual for calves to appear in battle similes. In Quintus, however, the comparans recurs in another simile in Q.S. 1.262–266, to portray the death of two Amazons. Cows, oxen and bulls are frequently found in Iliadic battle similes, but Quintus is the first to replace the cow with a calf in a similar context.[30] This change has implications for the warrior characterization of the dying Amazons, and specifically their relation to

30 In the *Iliad*, bulls and cows occasionally occur in the background of a simile (*Iliad* 10.351–354 and 23.844–847), but more often as prominent players. Sometimes their force is stressed (*Iliad* 2.480–483, 13.703–708, 20.495–499 and 21.237), but most often the animal is prey to some stronger attacker, such as a lion or human (*Iliad* 5.161–164, 11.172–178, 548–557, 12.293, 13.571–573, 15.323–327, 586–590, 630–638, 16.487–491, 17.61–69, 389–395, 520–524, 542, 657–666 and 20.403–406). Images of a calf, however, are strikingly scarce, also in later traditions. In *Iliad* 17.4–6, a mother protects her calf (see above). In *Odyssey* 10.410–415, heifers race back towards their mothers. Both images show little affinity with Quintus' simile. *Georgics* 4.10–12 show a calf trampling grass (Vian 1963 T1, 28 n. 1) and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (174–175) uses the same image, but only to illustrate female swiftness (James 2004, 271). For more calf similes in the *Posthomerica*, see section 6.1.

other (male) warriors on the battlefield around them.[31] Similarly, the reuse of this image for Penthesilea during her *aristeia* could enhance the doubts about her self-proclaimed invincibility: the reader is implicitly reminded that she is an Amazon, and those female warriors have previously proven they could not fully match the standards of their male counterparts: in confrontations, they looked like calves rather than like cows.[32] The fact that the calf is only able to destroy the garden in absence of the gardener is yet another indication of the narrator's pessimist view since the banquet: Achilles and Ajax, once they appear, will be Penthesilea's undoing. This, however, need not imply that Amazons, and Penthesilea in particular, do not belong on the battlefield, or are actually not fit to engage in the battle they have joined.[33] Instead, it makes clear that the hierarchy of warriors on the battlefield is more multi-layered than 'the best' and 'the others'. Thus far, Penthesilea has been quite creditable in leading the Trojan army, which has been acknowledged in various ways, both in the focalization of various characters and the description of the first part of her *aristeia* in general. However, the primary narrator now adds another note of hesitation, by underlining her vulnerability in battle. The doubts about Penthesilea's eventual success bring nuance to her place on the scale of relative superiority: she may now look like the best (and believe herself to be), but there are even bigger players who have yet to appear. Achilles and Ajax Major will join the fight soon, after a brief digression in the narrative.

Upon seeing Penthesilea as a champion on the battlefield, and inspired by her war vigour, the Trojan women in the city discuss whether they too should join the fight to protect their homes. After a discussion consisting of two speeches, they decide not to (Q.S. 1.403–476). The rhetorical interaction between Hippodamea (in favour of female battle, Q.S. 1.409–435) and Theano (against, Q.S. 1.451–474) represents a general debate about gender expectations: Hippodamea unconventionally states there are no differences between man and woman, whereas Theano points at the differences in background between the Trojan women and the warrior queen. Penthesilea is an Amazon, educated in battle and the daughter of Ares. 'Normal women' should (or could) not compete with this (Q.S. 1.456–463). As Bär states, the φύσις of man and woman is discussed, and confirmed in the end (2009, 116). Maciver even calls the women's

31 I discuss the death similes of these Amazons in more depth in my article "Ways to Die for Warriors" (2017). See also Kauffman (2015, 155–158).

32 See also Lovatt: "She [Penthesilea] is not as different from the other Amazons as she first appeared" (2013, 306).

33 Against Lovatt, who interprets the two calf similes as a mere mockery of the supposed heroism of warrior maidens (2013, 247).

initial intent "a threat to the social order of the 'Homeric' world" (2012c, 60). In line with Vian (1963 T1, 4 and 28 n. 3) and Gärtner (2005, 58–62), he mentions a similar scene of women wanting to engage in war after Camilla's death in Vergil's *Aeneid* 11.891–895. In contrast to the *Aeneid*, however, the Trojan women in the *Posthomerica* are inspired by Penthesilea's success, not her death. Also, the siege does not yet threaten the city, as in the *Aeneid*, when the women stay inside and actively help to protect it. For Maciver, this is a crucial difference for the legitimacy of the women's proposed help. He finds that "in the Posthomerica, the women are made to look impetuous and foolish through the wise warnings of Theano, since there is apparently no need for them on a battlefield where the Trojans have the upper hand" (2012c, 64). Theano indeed finishes her speech with this very observation: "Our city is not surrounded by our pitiless foes, and so there is no desperate need for women to join in the fighting" (Theano: Q.S. 1.472–474).[34] The prevailing statement of "prudent Theano" (Q.S. 1.450) implies no negative judgment of Penthesilea. Rather, she distinguishes Penthesilea from the 'female nature' ("τῶ οἱ θηλυτέρην τιν' ἐριζέμεν οὔ τι ἔοικεν" or "so it isn't right for a woman to vie with her", Theano: Q.S. 1.462). The entire passage can be interpreted as an explicit *mise en scène* of an important issue in Book 1: the ambiguous status of the Amazon as a woman on the battlefield. The question of whether other women should do the same as Penthesilea is raised, and the answer is 'no', for Amazons are different from 'normal' women. Hence, it is explicitly acknowledged that these specific females are warriors, and that these specific warriors are female. Aside from 'normal' women and 'normal' male warriors, Amazons could perhaps be classified in a third category, which does belong on the battlefield and with whom other women should not compete. This digression, often understood as the pivotal point of Book 1,[35] explicitly discusses what has repeatedly resounded in the descriptions and perceptions of Penthesilea thus far: she is a new, unusual figure, but the seeming contradiction of her gender and warrior aspirations fits her nature as an Amazon. In my opinion, Quintus has thus far not presented the Amazons as 'unnatural' creatures.[36] On the other hand, he does underline

34 Thus, she seems to imply that, under more pressing circumstances, their intervention would indeed be legitimated. Her final words struck me as remarkably parallel to the situation of *Aeneid* 11, as if they were truly referring to this other story. In the ever-lingering and generally careful debate about possible intertextual relationships between Vergil and Quintus (recalled by Maciver for this specific passage: 2012c, 63), this might be put forward as one small argument in favour.

35 For the chiastic structure of Book 1 as a whole, see Schmiel (1986) and Bär (2009, 94–103).

36 Against Boyten (2010, 60).

their specific ambiguity, which provokes varied reactions from Penthesilea's fellow characters. The strongest example of this has yet to appear.

This brief *interludium* has also created suspense in the narrative (Bär 2009, 115). Penthesilea was left in the middle of her successful *aristeia*, unaware of her impending doom. In the middle of line 476, the narrator takes us back to the action on the battlefield, where Penthesilea is still committing slaughter and the Achaeans have now been sent fleeing. As the Greek defences are about to break, Ajax Major (still in the camp) is alarmed. This new shift of focalization marks the turning point of battle. Achilles, who was still grieving for Patroclus,[37] is convinced by Ajax to defend his honour (Q.S. 1.494–508) and takes up arms again.[38] As they rush to the battlefield, their fury is illustrated by several similes and comparisons that leave no doubt about their vigour. Significantly, the narrator starts by comparing their fury to that of Ares, Penthesilea's father (Q.S. 1.512–514).[39] Ares may seem a logical choice of comparans in battle similes, and indeed is a favourite symbol of war throughout the *Posthomerica*, even more than in the *Iliad*.[40] Although Quintus uses Ares as the comparans in ten images throughout his epic, only one of those occurs in Book 1, and this one used to illustrate the battle vigour of his daughter's opponents. It could therefore be stated that this simile attracts significant attention and is no positive omen for Penthesilea. After this first comparison, focalization shifts to the Achaeans, who rejoice in the sight of their saviours. The second simile describes them as the sons of Aloas (Q.S. 1.516–521). This cosmic image seems to be a counterpart of Penthesilea's earlier comparison to Athena fighting the Giants (Q.S. 1.179–181). Maciver points out the irony hidden in the representation of the inimical heroes rushing towards one another in a cosmic clash (2012b, 140–141). In the third and fourth similes, both heroes are compared to voracious lions (Q.S. 1.524–528) and fire (Q.S. 1.536–537) as they actually engage in battle.[41]

37 The location of Achilles and Ajax is not specified in this particular passage, but in Q.S. 1.378–379 it was mentioned that they were at Patroclus' tomb. Since both heroes are still together and Achilles will need convincing to resume battle, it seems plausible that Ajax's speech takes place at that same location.

38 Ajax's speech is discussed in section 3.2.1.

39 In Books 1 and 2, it often happens that a hero is compared to the deity that is also the parent of their opponent. A significant case can be found in the rivalry of Eos and Thetis, the respective mothers of Memnon and Achilles, in Book 2 (see section 2.3.2).

40 For detailed figures, see Wenglinsky (2002, 61–63).

41 Between lines 515 and 528, Achilles and Ajax Major also have strongly been marked as a duo in the use of various dual forms. A more detailed study of the characterization of Ajax and Achilles follows in section 3.2.1. See also Vian (1963 T1, 9).

Despite their unmistakably threatening appearance, Penthesilea does not linger to confront them. Between two unsuccessful spear throws,[42] she challenges her rivals in direct speech. Again—and this time to their faces—she contests the acclaimed superiority of Achilles and Ajax on the battlefield: "But this one I reckon will soon put an end to the strength and spirit of both of you, the mighty men the Danaans according to your boasting" (Penthesilea: Q.S. 1.554–556). Moreover, she claims her own superiority by underlining the strength (κάρτος, Q.S. 1.559) of the Amazon race and her warlike (γένος ἀρήιον, Q.S. 1.560) divine origin: "Τοὔνεκά μοι μένος ἐστὶ πολὺ προφερέστατον ἀνδρῶν" ("So my might is more than that of men", Penthesilea: Q.S. 1.562). The notion that Penthesilea is "by far superior to men" need, in my opinion, not necessarily involve a gender implication. Not a single word in Penthesilea's speech refers to 'woman' in the 'proper' sense of the word. Rather, she uses the final verses to underline her divine descent. Besides indicating gender, the lemma 'ἀνήρ' in LSJ also mentions: "II: man, opp. to gods". Hence, Penthesilea could also be referring to her semi-divine origin, which overrules that of ordinary mortals. Even though she addresses two other semi-divine people, neither of them has ancestors so aptly suited for war as she has. Her father is Ares, which should make her outstanding in any battle situation. He is, as she had just stated, "not a mortal man" (οὐδέ με θνῆτος | γείνατ' ἀνήρ, Q.S. 1.560–561). Thus, Penthesilea defends her right to be on the battlefield facing its so-called biggest champions. Although she is given some credit for her initiative by the narrator,[43] both Achaean champions react with utter disdain. They burst into laughter, and Ajax even turns his back to this confrontation to go and fight elsewhere, leaving this prey to Achilles:

Αἴας δ' οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν Ἀμαζόνος, ἀλλ' ἄρα Τρώων
ἐς πληθὺν ἀνόρουσε· λίπεν δ' ἄρα Πηλείωνι
οἴῳ Πενθεσίλειαν, ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς
ᾔδεεν ὡς Ἀχιλῆι καὶ ἰφθίμῃ περ ἐοῦσα
ῥηίδιος πόνος ἔσσεθ' ὅπως ἴρηκι πέλεια.

Q.S. 1.568–572

42 The first one bounces off the divine shield of Achilles (Q.S. 1.548–549). Penthesilea speaks while aiming her second spear at Ajax. Her second throw, however, does not pierce her enemy's greave (Q.S. 1.551–552 and 563–565). Vian underlines that Penthesilea does not *miss* her targets. Her opponents simply cannot be harmed (1963 T1, 6).

43 Being the first to cast a spear, she is called ἐσθλὴ Πενθεσίλεια (Q.S. 1.548). This adjective (used only three times for Penthesilea) also occurs to depict her riding out of Troy to confront the Achaeans (Q.S. 1.171) and when the narrator mentions how Achilles and Ajax are withheld to give ἐσθλῇ Πενθεσιλείῃ a short *aristeia* (Q.S. 1.382).

> Ajax just ignored the Amazon and leapt
> Among the mass of Trojans, leaving Penthesilea
> For Peleus' son alone, since well he knew in his heart
> That for Achilles, in spite of all her prowess,
> She would be as easy a task as a dove for a hawk.

This rejection is remarkably explicit: Penthesilea is not worth the effort. The derisive comparison in Ajax's focalization is mirrored in Achilles' own response to Penthesilea, which follows immediately afterwards (Q.S. 1.575–591). In contrast to the Amazon Queen herself, he clearly does focus on her gender, by first addressing her as "Ὦ γύναι" (Q.S. 1.575). Still taking into account Ajax as his sidekick, Achilles then reclaims their superiority ("μέγα φέρτατοί εἶμεν ἐπιχθονίων ἡρώων" or "we are far the greatest warriors in the world", Q.S. 1.577). He substantiates his argument by referring to their divine descent and the fear even Hector held of them, despite his own force (κρατερόν περ ἐόντα, Q.S. 1.582). Achilles' words thus echo Andromache's not only in spirit, but also literally (compare κρατερός περ ἐών, Q.S. 1.106).[44] He also seems to confirm the battle hierarchy Andromache had put forward. Throughout Book 1, Penthesilea has openly been striving to become the best on the battlefield. Judging from the several reactions of her fellow characters and the narrator, however, this was a vain hope. Even the Achaean and the Trojan τις-speech (Q.S. 1.212–219 and 1.358–372 respectively), which both granted her a vigorous initial impression, never called her 'the best'. In fact, Penthesilea is the only one in Book 1 who claims that she is worthy of that title, and her claim is contested—explicitly or not—by those who respond. Of these, Achilles goes the farthest and calls her out of her wits to confront him. Instead of properly challenging her, Achilles simply states that he will kill her as a lion would kill a fawn (Q.S. 1.586–587). Hence, two comparisons in this short passage, in the focalization of Ajax and of Achilles, have announced that Penthesilea will be a helpless prey to Achilles. He immediately suits the action to the word and mortally wounds the Amazon Queen with his first blow. Focalization shifts to the blurred view of a heavily injured Penthesilea, who considers whether she will continue to fight or rather beg for her foe's mercy (Q.S. 1.599–609). As a ransom, she would propose him bronze and gold, and she would invoke his pity for her youth. Vian (1963 T1, 35 n. 6 and 7) and James (2004, 273) indicate parallels to Hector's doubts (*Iliad* 22.111–121 and especially 337–343) and young Tros' imploration (*Iliad* 20.463–466), both

44 Before rejecting her, Ajax had considered Penthesilea's strength in similar wordings: ἰφθίμη περ ἐοῦσα (Q.S. 1.571).

of which Achilles would not or does not accept.[45] Penthesilea never gets the chance to make her own decision.[46] Achilles kills her the next instant, piercing her like meat on a spit (Q.S. 1.613–614) or as a deer to a tree (Q.S. 1.615–621). This second image recalls the threat in Achilles' previous speech and proves it to be true: Penthesilea did not stand a chance against Achilles.[47]

2.1.3 Post Mortem

Thus far, Penthesilea's characterization has been ambiguous, swinging between a focus on her bellicose temperament and on her unusual appearance as a female warrior. A radical shift is made as her lifeless body falls:

> Ἣ δ' ὦκα μίγη κονίῃ καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
> εὐσταλέως ἐριποῦσα κατ' οὔδεος· οὐδέ οἱ αἰδὼς
> ᾔσχυνεν δέμας ἠΰ· τάθη δ' ἐπὶ νηδύα μακρὴ
> δουρὶ περισπαίρουσα, θοῷ δ' ἐπεκέκλιτο ἵππῳ.
> Q.S. 1.621–624

> Both dust and death received her at once,
> As she fell to the ground preserving her grace. For[48] nothing shameful
> Dishonoured her fair form. Full length and facing down,
> She quivered still on the spear, her speedy steed as her couch.

The narrator stresses that her body is not shamefully exposed, which seems to be a rather female concern. The word αἰδώς attracts attention. It has only occurred once before in the *Posthomerica*, namely during Penthesilea's arrival scene, from the viewpoint of the onlooking Trojans:

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45 Hector abandons the thought of pleading for his life, but his request to return his body in exchange for bronze and gold is savagely scorned by Achilles. Tros is called a fool for not understanding Achilles' current fierce state of mind (*Iliad* 20.466–468).

46 Vian's analysis of this confrontation may slightly be coloured by his qualitative judgment of Penthesilea's representation: "Quintus, souvent médiocre peintre de caractères, a su ici animer le personnage de l'Amazone et le rendre émouvant" (1963 T1, 6). Even if Vian, therefore, assumes that Penthesilea "se serait jetée à ses [Achilles'] genoux pour demander grâce" (ibid.), we can never be sure about this.

47 For a detailed study of the deer image in Book 1, see Spinoula (2008, 203–208). She links the fatal accident of Penthesilea spearing Hippolyte (Q.S. 1.24–25) to the two images with which Achilles and the narrator evoke her own death: the deer-huntress becomes the hunted deer. Penthesilea's two Artemis similes (Q.S. 1.363–365 and Q.S. 1.663–665) could also be brought into this discussion.

48 Unlike what the translation suggests, Quintus does not seem to imply a reason here.

αἰδὼς δ' ἀμφερύθηνε παρήια, τῶν δ' ἐφύπερθε
θεσπεσίη ἐπέκειτο χάρις καταειμένη ἀλκήν

Q.S. 1.60–61

Her cheeks were flushed with modesty,[49] and over them
A wondrous grace was spread, all clothed with valor.

Shame (αἰδώς) is a multi-faceted aspect of Homeric heroism that applies to both men and women, in different ways. The importance of this emotion in the *Iliad* is explained by the central place of honour (Cairns 1993, 43–44). The notion of αἰδώς on the battlefield (with Hector as its most prominent case) has been discussed in section 1.2. When applied to women, however, αἰδώς is mostly related to their beauty and sexuality (Cairns ibid., 120–126). It is notable that Quintus' Penthesilea clearly relates to the same concept that was such an important motivation for her predecessor Hector in the *Iliad*. In the midst of an already ambiguous description of the Amazon Queen, the passage above (quoted from the arrival scene) is a gender paradox in itself: her (female) grace is adorned with (male) prowess. In her death scene, however, αἰδώς seems to clearly refer to the female concern of being appropriately covered. As such, αἰδώς is to be understood as characteristic of Penthesilea's female, virginal nature (Maciver 2012b, 146–147).[50] The initially surprising juxtaposition of verses 60–61 becomes more emphatic once she is dead. By stressing the chaste way in which her body falls, the reader is reminded of the fact that this female body suddenly seems queerly out of place on a battlefield. Her death sends the Trojans fleeing like shipwrecked sailors who desperately abandon their ship (Q.S. 1.633–642). In a certain way, this simile reminds the reader of the introduction to Book 1: after Hector's death, they feared for the fate of their homeland and mourned "as though already Troy on fire was groaning" (Q.S. 1.17). Penthesilea was a new beacon of hope—something to hold on to as the sailors in this simile did. With her loss, however, the Trojans are once again forced to rush back home, a home that will be lost without a proper champion to defend it. In the meantime, Achilles addresses Penthesilea's dead body with scorn that echoes his previous speech:

49 'Modesty' seems a particularly poor word to translate αἰδώς in this case, especially given the impetuous characterization of Penthesilea afterwards. Way's translation is more in line with the context: "And with the crimson rose of shamefastness bright were her cheeks" (1913). He draws the attention to her female, even virginal nature, rather than to her temperament.

50 In contrast to Helen's shame, which is connected to her adultery (Maciver 2012b, 155–171; also Carvounis 2005, 100–106, discussed in section 7.1). See also footnote 56.

"(…) μέγα φέρτατοί εἰμεν
ἡρώων, Δαναοῖσι φάος μέγα, Τρωσὶ δὲ πῆμα
ἠδὲ σοὶ αἰνομόρῳ, ἐπεὶ ⟨ἦ⟩ νύ σε Κῆρες ἐρεμναὶ
καὶ νόος ἐξορόθυνε γυναικῶν ἔργα λιποῦσαν
βήμεναι ἐς πόλεμον τόν περ τρομέουσι καὶ ἄνδρες."

Achilles: Q.S. 1.649–653

"(…) We are far the greatest
Warriors, great light of Danaans, but the bane of Trojans
And of you, ill-starred indeed, since blackest Fates
And your heart[51] have goaded you to abandon women's work
And go to war. War causes even men to tremble."

Achilles again stresses his unmistakeable superiority, in the same comparative wordings "φέρτατοί εἰμεν (ἐπιχθονίων) ἡρώων" as in his previous speech (Q.S. 1.649–650 ~ line 577).[52] Moreover, he explicitly contrasts Penthesilea's female nature with the battlefield, and finds she never really belonged there ("γυναικῶν ἔργα λιποῦσαν"). Achilles has stressed her femininity before and seems to be most fervently opposed to the idea of a warrior woman. The ambiguity intrinsic to her identity as an Amazon, which was recurrently acknowledged while she was alive, is now deprived of every nuance: after death, only her female side remains.

In order to take Penthesilea's spoils, Achilles removes her shining helmet, which is compared to the sun or Zeus' lightning (Q.S. 1.657–658). This description of brilliance recalls Penthesilea's arming scene.[53] Once this symbol of her warrior nature is removed, only her beauty remains.[54] The sight of her pretty face (ἐρατῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι καλὰ πρόσωπα, Q.S. 1.660) immediately conquers the Achaean hearts. They marvel at her resemblance to the gods (μακάρεσσιν, Q.S. 1.662), and she lies there like Artemis after a hunt (Q.S. 1.663–665). The narrator then specifies that Aphrodite has posthumously preserved her beauty to punish Achilles for killing Ares' daughter:

51 I have slightly adapted James' translation to stress Penthesilea's double motivation: both the Keres and her νόος are the subject of the Greek sentence. For 'doppelte Motivation' in Quintus, see Gärtner (2014) and Bär (2016, 219).

52 These are the only two Posthomeric occurrences of this word group, which is never found in Homer.

53 In particular, the image of Zeus' lightning (see also footnote 18).

54 See also Goţia (2008, 77–79).

αὐτὴ γάρ μιν ἔτευξε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοισιν ἀγητὴν
Κύπρις ἐυστέφανος κρατεροῦ παράκοιτις Ἄρηος,
ὄφρά τι καὶ Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος υἷ' ἀκαχήσῃ.
Q.S. 1.666–668

This beauty even among the dead was the personal work
Of the fair-crowned Cyprian goddess, the mighty war god's spouse,
To inflict some suffering also on noble Peleus' son.

Finally, her appearance is compared to that of a goddess in Achilles' own focalization: ἐπεὶ μέγεθός τε καὶ εἶδος | ἔπλετ' ἀμώμητός τε καὶ ἀθανάτῃσιν ὁμοίη ("because in height and beauty she was as flawless as an immortal goddess", Q.S. 1.673–674). In this passage, Penthesilea's beauty is called divine three times. As on the morning of her arrival, her outer appearance is highlighted.[55] However, whereas the Achaean focalization seems to take into account her ambiguous Amazon nature with a gender-neutral term for 'divinities' (Q.S. 1.662) and a comparison to the virgin goddess Artemis (Q.S. 1.663–665),[56] Achilles' gaze remains exclusively focused on her female aspect: he regrets having lost the opportunity to wed such a goddess-like wife (Q.S. 1.671–674). This, and not her gold or youth,[57] is what eventually can impress Achilles. What he mourns is κούρης … ἐρατὸν σθένος ("that maiden's strength and beauty", Q.S. 1.719), a significant oxymoron that juxtaposes her loveliness and some sort of strength. In Book 1, the word σθένος is always used in the context of battle strength.[58] In

55 Compare μέγεθός τε καὶ εἶδος (Q.S. 1.673) to θεῶν ἐπιειμένη εἶδος (Q.S. 1.19).

56 Maciver unveils a more complex connection between the comparans with Artemis for Penthesilea and with Aphrodite for Helen, related to their sexual (im)purity and their guilt(lessness) in causing the war (2012b, 143–146). He reveals a triangular interaction between the sad Artemis picture of Penthesilea's death, the happy representation of Nausicaa as Artemis in the *Odyssey* and Aphrodite's emphasis on Penthesilea's beauty even after her death. The relation of Nausicaa and Penthesilea is a subtle one, implying a similarity in virginal and youthful vulnerability, while simultaneously evoking a contrast of settings, situations and the overall identity of these two women. Nausicaa is a young maiden ready for marriage and Penthesilea a chaste warrior who is nowhere near such a marital aspiration—at least as far as her own focalization in Quintus' epic suggests. Notably, she does not consider offering herself as a spouse to Achilles when he threatens to kill her. Her only arguments are her riches and her youth (Q.S. 1.604–609).

57 Penthesilea considered invoking these as arguments in a supplication to save her life (Q.S. 1.604–609).

58 Of 49 occurrences in the *Posthomerica*, the word is found nine times in Book 1: Q.S. 1.101 (Andromache warns Penthesilea), 1.327 (Penthesilea boasts), 1.454 (Theano warns the Trojan women), 1.508 (Ajax trusts in his own and Achilles' strength), 1.513 (the strength

this case, however, Penthesilea's σθένος is specified in a particular way: the true strength of this girl lies in her beauty.

In the end, Penthesilea's posthumous beauty has accomplished what she could not do alive: to hurt Achilles[59] and gain the respect of her foes. She turns out to be stronger in her female beauty than in the warrior ambitions she cherished.[60] In admiration, the Atreids endow Penthesilea with great honour: her body and armour, as well as those of her Amazon companions, are returned to the Trojans for a solemn burial near Laomedon's tomb (Q.S. 1.783–810).[61] Penthesilea's female nature is repeatedly stressed during her funeral scene: twice, she is called κούρη.[62] Next, she is burned, as befits a queen (βασιλείῃ, Q.S. 1.792).[63] Finally, the Trojans are said to mourn Penthesilea as a daughter lost to them (Q.S. 1.800). With this comparison, a circle is completed: Priam had hosted her as a daughter upon her arrival (Q.S. 1.86–87), and now the Trojans must commit their new hope to the earth, while the Achaeans celebrate their victory and praise Achilles with a banquet (Q.S. 1.825–830).

All in all, Book 1 provides a nuanced and many-faceted characterization of Penthesilea. Her beauty and her bellicose temperament go hand in hand in her descriptions and in the way in which she is perceived by other characters. As an Amazon, she is by definition an ambiguous figure, but one whose nature seems to be accepted as neither 'normally' female nor 'just' male as a warrior. This is most explicitly expressed by Theano, but is also revealed in several small details

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of Achilles and Ajax is like Ares'), 1.607 (Penthesilea ponders if she can sway Achilles' strength), 1.719 (this passage) and 1.733 (Thersites wonders where Achilles' strength has gone).

59 It will take Thersites to get Achilles back on his feet. See the excursus to section 2.1.3 for further discussion.

60 Bär argues that death eliminates her warrior nature and makes her 'properly female' again (2009, 113). Boyten concludes that Penthesilea seeks glory on the battlefield, but wins it through her beauty (2010, 52).

61 Not to bereave a defeated foe of his (or her) spoils counts as a gesture of exceptional tribute in the *Iliad*: e.g. Achilles respects Aeetion (*Iliad* 6.414–419). The armour is a material trophy that represents the defeated enemy and transposes his honour to the victor. Therefore, the appropriation of the armour could even be deemed more important than the actual killing (Horn 2014, 103–105).

62 This happens in 1.790 and in one last oxymoron of her gender and battle lust: κούρην ὀβριμόθυμον ὁμῶς τεύχεσσι καὶ ἵππῳ (Q.S. 1.787). The word occurs 29 times in the *Posthomerica*, eight of which in Book 1. She is also called a κούρη in the grief of Ares (Q.S. 1.685) and Achilles (1.719), during her success on the battlefield (1.174 and 318), and twice in the scene where Aisa exults in her approaching doom (1.392 and 402).

63 The word βασίλεια occurs only four times in the *Posthomerica*, of which twice for Penthesilea: here, and in Priam's prayer (Q.S. 1.187). The other two occurrences refer to Eos (Q.S. 2.638) and Hermione (Q.S. 7.218).

of her characterization, such the specific similes with which she is depicted. Still, she is a new phenomenon to the Trojan battlefield, and her appearance has inevitably raised the questions of if and how she belonged there.[64] This matter found specific expression in the prominent debate about who is superior to whom on the battlefield. The most apt answer to this seems to be a heroic ladder with several rungs. Penthesilea was able to inspire the Trojans with new hope and fill the Achaeans with terror, but she was also disdained for her *hybris*, namely her ambition to kill Achilles. Even her status as Hector's successor has sometimes been questioned. All in all, Penthesilea's relationship to Hector in the *Posthomerica* is rather complex. Within Book 1, there is a clear relationship between the characters, since the Amazon Queen is the first one to replace him (see e.g. Q.S. 1.212 and 341–343). Vian also indicates that in the mythological tradition, Hector's death and Penthesilea's were closely related (1963 T1, 8) and Boyten makes a comparative study of both characters based on their behaviour (2010, 32–39). Indeed, at the beginning of the *Posthomerica*, Penthesilea is directly associated with the former champion of Troy, if only by the new hope she arouses. There also is a simile in Q.S. 1.76–85, in which Priam welcomes Penthesilea as his own child (Bär 2009, 294). Bär, finally, notes that the association of Penthesilea with Hector serves as a *prolepsis* to her own doom (ibid. 294). On the level of the entire *Posthomerica*, however, the Amazon Queen will not be the only one who comes to Troy in an attempt to replace Hector. In total, three new Trojan champions appear in the *Posthomerica*: Penthesilea, Memnon and Eurypylus. Only Eurypylus will explicitly be compared to Hector (three times, in Q.S. 6.133, 7.730 and 9.42; for his characterization, see section 4.1.2), but Book 2 will also establish telling parallels between Memnon and Hector on an intertextual level (see section 2.3). In fact, Penthesilea is the only one of these three who is explicitly said *not* to be able to match Hector (see again Andromache's and Achilles' words). In comparison to the other new Trojan champions, Penthesilea may be the least apt candidate. Therefore, it remains doubtful if a full "Gleichsetzung" of Penthesilea and Hector takes place (Bär 2009, 294). Her entire stay in Troy was overshadowed by strong dramatic irony regarding her *hybris*. Achilles was never quite able to look past her

64 Boyten argues that Penthesilea challenges existing heroic conventions by her female participation in the war (2010, 78–80). I would not go so far, however, as to reduce the entire confrontation between Achilles and the Amazon Queen to a clash of genders, representing the two poles of epic tradition versus innovation. If Achilles' voice is, admittedly, an advocate of the ancient Iliadic tradition, his perspective is only one of the many that are staged in Book 1. In this larger context, I do not believe that the polarity between Achilles and Penthesilea should be understood as anything more than a signifier of Achilles' own heroic characterization.

femininity. All in all, her arrival evoked no little controversy in the first battle of Quintus' new epic. He has staged the usual battle situation, and introduced a character that has evoked (sometimes rather vehement) reactions from the others, who were in this way not only re-introduced into the new, Posthomeric narrative, but also provoked into making explicit statements about how they perceive the situation of the war and the heroic hierarchy that has marked it since the *Iliad*. This introductory function of Book 1 is enhanced when read in dialogue with Book 2, as will be done in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

In sum, I do not believe that Book 1 is merely about a 'clash of genders', as sometimes has been argued.[65] *Posthomerica* 1 acknowledges, I believe, a third possible way of life, one that allows Penthesilea to be man and woman at once and does not force her to be fully 'male' on a battlefield or only 'beautiful' in her appearance.[66] In the eyes of her fellow characters, and in her representation by the narrator, she is clearly both, although some characters have more difficulties accepting this than others. This also provides her with a unique charisma and heroic efficiency that has eventually allowed her to knock out Achilles … albeit not in battle.

Excursus: Thersites

Penthesilea's defeat eventually backfires in Achilles' face—or rather, his heart. While the other Achaeans scatter over the battlefield after her death, Achilles stays behind to mourn. His grief is enormous, "no less (…) than previously from the killing of Patroclus his friend" (Q.S. 1.720–721). This brief echo of the *Iliad* is all but innocent, for it implies drastic consequences: if Achilles is once again blinded with sorrow, the war could have a radically different outcome. One Achaean, however, is determined not to let that happen. I dedicate this excursus to the 'vilest of Achaeans',[67] who serves as a true Janus, connecting a fearful Iliadic past to an inevitable Posthomeric future by telling Achilles what he does not want to hear.

65 E.g. Boyten (2010, 78–90), Lovatt (2013), or even Vian's emphasis on her female chasteness (which he identifies as a key issue of morality in Book 1: "Il [Quintus] insiste sur la pudeur de la vierge guerrière": 1963 T1, 11) in scenes such as the description of her dead body and the vague expression of Achilles' passion.

66 See also Sánchez Barragán, who studies the aspects of 'hero' and 'woman' in Penthesilea and concludes that Quintus presents a hybrid being (2001).

67 See αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε (*Iliad* 2.220).

TABLE 1 Thersites in Homer and Quintus compared

Iliad 2	**Posthomerica 1**
212–224: description Thersites	723–740: SPEECH Thersites
225–242: SPEECH Thersites	741–747: Thersites killed
246–264: SPEECH Odysseus	747–755: Achaeans approve (τις-SPEECH)
265–269: Thersites punished	757–765: SPEECH Achilles
270–277: Achaeans approve (τις-SPEECH)	767–781: Diomedes resists

Quintus' Thersites scene is both part of the Cyclic tradition[68] and inspired by his famous performance in the *Iliad*. Paradoxically, this generally despised creature could be called one of the most famous Homeric characters. Therefore, Thersites does not need an introduction in the *Posthomerica*. His name is first mentioned in the verse that announces his scornful speech (Q.S. 1.722), and but two words suffice to make the link to the *Iliad*: just as he chided Agamemnon in *Iliad* 2.224 (νείκεε μύθῳ), so he now addresses Achilles (νείκεσσε μύθῳ). Also the rest of his performance clearly enters into dialogue with the *Iliad*.[69] To start, both confrontations are similarly structured, be it with a different order of events.

Thersites' scornful speech—counting eighteen verses in both Homer and Quintus—is each time followed by the intervention of one of the (other) heroes: Odysseus as acting commander in the *Iliad* and Achilles, who responds to the insults to his own person, in the *Posthomerica*. In both cases, Thersites is verbally and physically punished for his words. In the *Iliad*, Odysseus reproaches him before hitting him on the back with the sceptre. In the *Posthomerica*, Achilles first kills Thersites with his bare fist and then scorns his dead body, as if Thersites were one of his victims on the battlefield.[70] In each case, the Achaeans, both in their collective focalization and in a τις-speech,

68 Sources have been investigatd by Sodano (1951, 70–73), De Wit (1951, 83–90) and Vian (1963 T1, 7–8). Fantuzzi discusses Quintus' version in the light of the broader Thersites tradition (2012, 276–278). Other representations of Thersites, which are not always as one-sidedly negative as in the *Iliad*, are discussed by Nova (2014), who does not, however, take Quintus into account.

69 Vian lists cases of verbal intertextuality (1963 T1, 41 n. 4) and Maciver discusses the similar contents on which both scenes are based (2012b, 75 n. 141).

70 There is a verbal link with Achilles' triumph over Penthesilea. Both speeches start with the words *κεῖσό νυν ἐν κονίῃσι* (Q.S. 1.644 and 757), a relatively unusual phrase in Quintus (four identical occurrences in the *Posthomerica*, of which only these two occur in Book 1;

approve of the punishment. This approval twice follows immediately upon the physical punishment, hence the postponement of Achilles' triumph speech in the *Posthomerica*. One section differs between the epics. In the *Iliad*, Thersites is introduced by a physical description and a mention of his habit to utter hateful talk about kings, remarkably extensive and detailed even by Iliadic standards.[71] In the *Posthomerica*, such introductory words are no longer necessary. On the other hand, this episode ends with dissonance among the Achaeans, as Diomedes takes issue with Thersites' death. An extensive genealogy follows, proving that the two Achaeans are kinsmen (Q.S. 1.768–773). Given the fact that the *Iliad*—deliberately or not[72]—omits any reference to Thersites' ancestors, Quintus seemingly fills in a lacuna in Homer's version and implicitly complements Thersites' Iliadic introduction.[73] The nature of Thersites' insolence is the same as in the *Iliad*: a lower-ranking man should not insult his kings (Maciver 2012b, 75 n. 141). This is clearly brought forward in the τις-speeches of both epics: "Νεικείειν βασιλῆας ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν" ("to rail at kings with reviling words", *Iliad* 2.277) and "οὐκ ἀγαθὸν βασιλῆας ὑβριζέμεν ἀνδρὶ χέρηι" ("no good for inferior ranks to insult their leaders", Q.S. 1.751). Quintus' Achilles, in reaction, literally recalls Thersites' performance in the *Iliad* (Q.S. 1.759–760) and makes it clear that, in contrast to Homer's Odysseus, he himself prefers harsher methods to address such disrespect:

"ὅς καί που προπάροιθεν Ὀδυσσῆος ταλαὸν κῆρ
ἀργαλέως ὤρινας ἐλέγχεα μυρία βάζων.
Ἀλλ' οὐ Πηλείδης τοι ὁμοίιος ἐξεφαάνθη⟨ν⟩,
ὅς σευ θυμὸν ἔλυσα καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ χειρὶ βαρείῃ
πληξάμενος· (...)"

Achilles: Q.S. 1.759–763

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see section 3.3.3 footnote 143 for the occurrence in Book 5) and most certainly in Homer (Schubert 1996, 114).

71 This serves as a quite telling instance of direct characterization in the *Iliad*. See also Thalmann (1988, 15).

72 Postlethwaite suggests that Thersites' parentage may not be mentioned in the *Iliad* as a part of his anti-heroic characterization (1988, 125–126). Vian (1963 T1, 42 n. 1) and James (2004, 275) discuss the different traditions about Thersites' possible, yet not unproblematic blood tie with Diomedes.

73 The commotion about Thersites' death is in itself not original. De Wit gives an overview of sources. Quintus seems to adhere to Homer by mirroring the general approval of the ranks (1951, 86–90). Eventually, Diomedes is also dissuaded from his desire for revenge relatively easily.

> "On a former occasion you grievously provoked
> Odysseus' patient heart with your endless stream of insults.
> But I the son of Peleus have proved a different man.
> I've robbed you of your life, though with less than a heavy hand
> I struck you."

In a sense, he thus also responds to what Thersites reproached him for in the *Iliad*:

> "ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐκ Ἀχιλῆϊ χόλος φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ μεθήμων·
> ἦ γὰρ ἂν Ἀτρεΐδη νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο·"
>
> Thersites: *Iliad* 2.241–242

> "But surely there is no wrath in the heart of Achilles, but he is complacent;
> for otherwise, son of Atreus, you would now be committing your last act of insolence."

The function of Thersites' intervention in the *Iliad* has long been a matter of debate. More than serving as 'only' a parody or a comic note in the text, studies like Postlethwaite's have interpreted Thersites' speech as "a careful review of, and comment" upon the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in Book 1 (1988, 135). On the one hand, Thersites' characterization is anti-heroic, which allows the narrator to use him as the voice of the "ordinary, non-heroic" Achaeans (ibid. 135). On the other hand, however, Thersites' speech clearly echoes Achilles' tone and arguments from *Iliad* 1: both speak against Agamemnon and broach the heroic values that the latter has violated. In a sense, then, Postlethwaite would say that Homer's Thersites supports Achilles' cause (ibid. 128). Hence, he argues that "there are excellent dramatic reasons for introducing Thersites" (ibid. 126). Similarly, Thersites' reappearance in *Posthomerica* 1 is not a mere matter of tradition. His characterization interacts not only with the *Iliad*, but also with the events in the rest of *Posthomerica* 1. Schubert, for instance, has indicated clear parallels, involving equally great contrasts, with the characterization of Penthesilea (1996). In Schubert's interpretation of Quintus' version, Thersites' vile nature serves as a contrast to favour Penthesilea's positive impression (1996, 115). Besides the obvious contrasts between man and woman, ugliness and beauty, Schubert also points to the invective speeches Achilles addresses to both of them,[74] that their deaths are both followed by

74 See also footnote 70.

the rage of a family member (Ares and Diomedes respectively), and that special attention is paid to both of their funerals (one exceptionally honourable, the other one as far away from the other graves as possible: Q.S. 1.823–824).[75] In any case, Quintus' Thersites serves as a strong counterbalance for Achilles' confrontation with Penthesilea. His speech in the *Posthomerica* scorns Achilles' current love-mad grief, but also reminds those who hear it of the heroic value system. As such, the scope of his argument is remarkably broader than in the *Iliad*, where his view is limited to the concrete quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles. In the *Posthomerica*, however, Thersites seems to seize the opportunity of Achilles' behaviour to voice more general thoughts about the heroic code:

> "Ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ φρένας αἰνέ, τί ⟨ἤ⟩ νύ σε⟨υ⟩ ἤπαφε δαίμων
> θυμὸν ἐνὶ στέρνοισιν Ἀμαζόνος εἵνεκα λυγρῆς
> ἢ νῶιν κακὰ πολλὰ λιλαίετο μητίσασθαι;
> Καί τοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῇσι γυναιμανὲς ἦτορ ἔχοντι
> μέμβλεται ὡς ἀλόχοιο πολύφρονος ἥν τ' ἐπὶ ἕδνοις
> κουριδίην μνήστευσας ἐελδόμενος γαμέεσθαι.
> Ὥς ⟨σ'⟩ ὄφελον κατὰ δῆριν ὑποφθαμένη βάλε δουρί,
> οὕνεκα θηλυτέρῃσιν ἄδην ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,
> οὐδέ νυ σοί τι μέμηλεν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οὐλομένῃσιν
> ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς κλυτὸν ἔργον, ἐπὴν ἐσίδῃσθα γυναῖκα.
> Σχέτλιε, ποῦ νύ τοί ἐστι † περὶ † σθένος ἠδὲ νόημα;
> Πῇ δὲ βίη βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος; Οὐδέ τι οἶσθα
> ὅσσον ἄχος Τρώεσσι γυναιμανέουσι τέτυκται;
> Οὐ γὰρ τερπωλῆς ὀλοώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν
> ἐς λέχος ἱεμένης, ἥ τ' ἄφρονα φῶτα τίθησι
> καὶ πινυτόν περ ἐόντα. Πόνῳ δ' ἄρα κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ·
> ἀνδρὶ γὰρ αἰχμητῇ νίκη⟨ς⟩ κλέος ἔργα τ' Ἄρηος
> τερπνά, φυγοπτολέμῳ ⟨δὲ⟩ γυναικῶν εὔαδεν εὐνή."
>
> Thersites: Q.S. 1.723–740

> "Achilles, perverted man, what power has beguiled
> Your spirit for the sake of a wretched Amazon,
> Whose only desire for us was every conceivable evil?
> The heart within you lusts so madly for women

75 Boyten, on the other hand, understands Thersites as a focalizer of Achilles' supposed feminization (2010, 53).

That you care for her as for a prudent wife
Courted by you with gifts to be your lawful spouse.
She should have been first to strike you with her spear in the battle,
Since your heart takes such delight in females
And your accursed mind has no concern at all
For glorious deeds of valor once you catch sight of a woman.
Scoundrel, where now is your strength of body and mind?
Where is the might of the noble king? Surely you know
How great has been the cost to Troy of lust for women.
Nothing is more pernicious to mortal men
Than pleasure in a woman's bed. It makes a fool
Of even the wisest; only toil produces glory.
The deeds of war and victory's fame are a fighting man's
Delight; the coward's pleasure is bedding with women."

As at the beginning of the *Iliad*, a woman is the cause of all trouble,[76] and again Achilles has lost his fighting spirit because of her loss (Q.S. 1.731–732). Basically, the same impasse, in which Achilles is lost to battle, again threatens the Achaean camp. In that respect, Thersites' speech in the *Posthomerica* seems to be more constructive than in the *Iliad*. His words in the *Posthomerica* are clearly chosen to jolt Achilles awake: he calls Achilles γυναιμανές (Q.S. 1.726) and repeats that same word soon after, as the cause of the Trojan's misery due to Helen (Q.S. 1.735). This word has been repeatedly—and rightfully—studied in relation to its only two occurrences in the *Iliad*, both of them in Hector's reproachful speeches to Paris.[77] That the same word is now attributed to Achilles may be perceived as a shocking insult, yet insulting Achilles is not the (only) aim of Thersites' speech. Towards the end, he broadens the issue to a general rejection of *gynomania*, which he finds explicitly incompatible with heroic virtue on the battlefield: Achilles has lost his ἀρετή (Q.S. 1.732) because of this woman. Maciver identifies this ἀρετή as the Iliadic idea of prowess on the battlefield (2012b, 75–78).[78] Thersites actually stirs Achilles not to forget his

76 See also words referring to femininity in Thersites' Iliadic speech: πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες ("many women", *Iliad* 2.226), ἠὲ γυναῖκα νέην ("some young girl", 2.232), and possibly even the insult Ἀχαιΐδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοὶ ("you women of Achaea, men no more", 2.235).

77 *Iliad* 3.39 and 13.769. For the most recent study on this topic, see Maciver (2012b, 76).

78 This condemnation of lust clearly betrays Stoic influences as well. Maciver makes an extensive study on how the concept of ἀρετή evolves throughout the *Posthomerica*. He understands Thersites' speech as a starting point, which reflects a Stoic tension within the Homeric universe (2012b, 77–78). Ἀρετή as a term and concept in Quintus also recurs in section 7.2.1.

heroic duty: toil on the battlefield gains honour. Opposed to that are φυγοπτόλεμοι (1.740).[79] It need not surprise readers that these emphatic word choices provoke Achilles to the extreme, yet how to explain Thersites' capital punishment if what he states is in the end intrinsically right? As Maciver rightfully indicates, the roles in this scene are actually reversed, as Thersites becomes a figure of authority (2012b, 76 n. 144). Hence, the—almost—general approval of his murder may appear quite puzzling. The focalization of the Achaean army explains that "he was the shame (αἰδώς) of the Danaan host" (Q.S. 1.749). An Argive τις elaborates:

> "Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν βασιλῆας ὑβριζέμεν ἀνδρὶ χέρηι
> ἀμφαδὸν οὔτε κρυφηδόν, ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὀπηδεῖ·
> ἔστι θέμις, καὶ γλῶσσαν ἀναιδέα τίνυται Ἄτη
> ἥ τ' αἰεὶ μερόπεσσιν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγος ἀέξει"
>
> τις-speech: Q.S. 1.751–754

> "No good for the inferior ranks to insult their leaders,
> Openly or in secret; anger is the result.
> There is justice, and shameless tongues are made to pay
> By Ruin, who for mortals always heaps woe on woe."

This entire speech could be read as a maxim about proper behaviour in a heroic society, and a warning about possible reprimand. We see the Iliadic crime of Thersites repeated and his punishment confirmed and increased. Thersites need not be wrong in the meaning of his words; his insolence lies elsewhere. Postlethwaite made similar observations about the Iliadic Thersites: "He rocks the boat, and neither leaders nor led thank him for doing so" (1988, 125). Thersites' punishment is necessary to restore the order.[80] However, by killing Thersites, Achilles restores himself as well: as previously in *Posthomerica* 1, Achilles chooses to abandon his mourning to take up arms in defence of his honour,

79 This word is a Homeric *hapax* (*Odyssey* 14.213, in Odysseus' speech to Eumaeus) and does not occur in Hesiod, Apollonius, classical tragedy or comedy. Quintus uses the word twice (also in 2.68, in Paris' speech to Polydamas). After him, Nonnus gladly adopts the word for eight occurrences. According to TLG, it is attested only 21 times throughout Greek literature. See also Appel (1994b, 47–48).

80 Blok's analysis of Thersites' role in the Penthesilea tradition similarly stresses his critical function. To face the Amazon on the battlefield, Achilles must disavow her female aspect, but this is brought back to mind by Thersites. This 'accusation', as it were, is a stain on his heroic honour (1995, 209–210, 287).

this time *in concreto* by killing the one who has insulted him.[81] In his subsequent speech, Achilles answers Thersites that he does have the strength to act. This reproach was not only made to him in the *Iliad* (2.241–242, quoted above), but was also implied in the general undertone of Thersites' speech in the *Posthomerica*. Achilles' triumph thus goes further than the defeat of one vile creature: he also defeats his double mourning and is purified from a second sorrow as great as that for Patroclus in the *Iliad*.[82] As Diomedes thereupon wrathfully reacts to Thersites' death, the heroic game is on again: revenge for a kinsman is a legitimate reason for heroes to fight.[83] Were it not for the intervention of their Achaean comrades, "the best of the Argives" (οἱ ἄριστοι | Ἀργείων, Q.S. 1.779–780)[84] would there and then have crossed swords. Their anger, however, is quickly tempered and the grief for both Penthesilea and Thersites seems to be forgotten. In a sense, Thersites' words thus have reached the hoped-for effect: Achilles has regained his sense of heroic honour and battle. At the end of Book 1, Achilles' battle vigour is definitively restored, and he is ready for a new fight.

2.2 Parallel Compositions

At the beginning of the second book, the Trojans are back where they started a book earlier: their most recent champion slain, they stay within the city walls, more terrified than ever by Achilles. Their fear is now even more extreme, as they somehow expect he could simply leap over the wall to take the city (Q.S. 2.7–8). Penthesilea's contribution to the Trojan War has only confirmed the existing heroic odds. Therefore, when Book 2 opens with a Trojan assembly,

81 See also Ajax's explicit plea earlier in Book 1, at Patroclus' grave: "That would be bitter reproach (ἐλεγχείη ἀλεγεινή) for both of us. As great Zeus's offspring it is not fitting for us to bring disgrace (αἰσχύνειν) on the sacred stock of our fathers" (Q.S. 1.501–503). James also refers to the first and only specific mention of Patroclus' grave in *Posthomerica* 1.378–379 (2004, 274).

82 As mentioned at the beginning of this excursus, Penthesilea's death had made him recall his grief for Patroclus (Q.S. 1.721). James observed that Penthesilea's funerary rites recall those of Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad* (2004, 275). For exact references, see also Vian (1963 T1, 43 n. 1).

83 Parentage is an important indication of heroic valour and must be protected (Postlethwaite 1988, 125).

84 This phrase is also a *hapax* in Quintus. In Homer, it occurs eight times, of which two for Achilles (*Iliad* 16.271 and 17.164), one for the duo of Odysseus and Diomedes (*Iliad* 10.539) and two for the heroes in the Trojan Horse (*Odyssey* 4.272 and 11.524); the other occurrences are more general (*Iliad* 3.19, 4.260 and *Odyssey* 1.211).

this could be seen as a second, more thorough introduction to the *Posthomerica*. If Book 1 was needed to connect the *Posthomerica* to the *Iliad*, the rest of the epic will connect to and depart from Book 2.[85]

In an assembly consisting of five speeches, the Trojans assess their perilous situation. First, Thymoetes calls to mind their two defeated champions to prove Achilles' undefeatable vigour. His speech ends in pessimism: "We cannot any longer match the Argive forces now that fierce Achilles is fighting in the field" (Thymoetes: Q.S. 2.24–25). It seems as if the Trojans now fully realize that Achilles is back (Vian 1963 T1, 57 n. 1). Thymoetes remembers the Trojan hope in Penthesilea and admits that she was a disappointment (ὃ δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἐτήτυμον ἦεν, Q.S. 2.20). The existing battle hierarchy stands unchanged. In a second speech, Priam then proceeds to announce their next move: Memnon's arrival. He encourages the Trojans to maintain their courage, rather than to flee: "far better it is to perish bravely (θαρσαλέως) in battle than to escape and live a life of shame in a foreign land" (Priam: Q.S. 2.38–40). This heroic gnome, which will not be the last of its kind in the *Posthomerica*, appeals to his Trojans' courage and heroic motivation.[86] This is the spirit in which Memnon will be received as their new champion. However, it also incites a quarrel among the other members of the assembly, providing a telling illustration of how the Trojans are in constant disagreement about this war. Polydamas, not very hopeful about Memnon, points out that neither mere fighting courage nor flight will save Troy, but instead proposes returning Helen to the Achaeans.[87] Paris, obviously against this proposition, is suddenly a vehement supporter of brave battle: "It's only through toil and suffering of war that deeds of glory are achieved by human beings; Panic is the choice of women and children" (Q.S. 2.76–78). Paris seems to assume the role of Hector, as he reacts to Polydamas' prudent words and calls him a coward.[88] Remarkably, he repeats the word φυγοπτόλεμος (Q.S. 2.68), which Thersites had used to conclude his speech about military ἀρετή (Q.S. 1.740).[89] Perhaps with a hint of irony towards the *Iliad*, Paris thus seems to be the new advocate of bravery (θρασὺ κάρτος, Q.S. 2.80) on the battlefield. Polydamas, however, scorns Paris'

85 See also Schenk (1997, 381).

86 For further discussion, see Maciver (2012b, 89–90).

87 His ensuing discussion with Paris reminds the reader of a similar one between Paris and Antenor in *Iliad* 7.344–380 (Schenk 1997, 379).

88 James provides references to the four Iliadic confrontations between Hector and Polydamas, two of which end in disagreement (2004, 276). He finds the situation in this assembly similar to Hector's second rejection in the *Iliad* (18.249–309), whereas Vian indicates verbal reminiscences of Hector's first rejection in the *Iliad* 12.230–250 (1963 T1, 59 n. 1).

89 See Campagnolo (2012, 99) and footnote 79 for further references.

θράσος (twice: Q.S. 2.88 and 91) as the cause of their doom. Paris makes no reply to that, but the narrator indicates how he feels, and what Polydamas might have implied, but has left unspoken: “His [Paris’] heart, aflame with passion, preferred the thought of death to life without the godlike beauty of Helen” (Q.S. 2.95–97). Paris has a secret agenda inspired by love. He would rather die than lose Helen.[90] This quarrelsome assembly fulfils an important introductory function for the *Posthomerica*: it demonstrates how the Trojans look at the war from a radically different standpoint than the Achaeans: they have to protect their city against invaders,[91] and do not agree on how this should be done. Such quarrels were not unusual in the *Iliad*, and the situation has not improved since Hector has died. In fact, I would suggest that Book 2 provides a zoomed-in version of the impasse that also plagued Troy at the beginning of Book 1.

Even if Books 1 and 2 seem to start rather differently, then, their first episode of each (17 or 99 lines respectively) has served to outline the desperately low Trojan morale as an introduction to the arrival of their new champion. Eventually, the same question arises: will their new hero be able to defeat Achilles? The answer comes to us in an analogous way. In section 2.3, I analyse Memnon’s endeavour by comparing his performances to those of Penthesilea, in accordance with the strikingly similar narrative composition of both books. From the arrival of Memnon in verse 100 onwards, the plot development is parallel to that of Book 1, as is indicated in the table below.

After a different type of introduction (the introductory verses of Book 1 and the Trojan assembly of Book 2), the storylines of both books can be divided in the same sections and subsections. First, the arrival of the hero is outlined in three parts. This includes a first impression of the new champion, mainly through the eyes of the Trojans, then a banquet and finally the preparations for battle the next morning. Next, the battle is described. This part comprises approximately half of each book’s verses and alternately consists of episodes that provide a general overview of the battlefield, in which all kinds of fights and heroes are briefly highlighted,[92] and two larger episodes. The first of these more detailed passages is different in each book (the Trojan women’s debate in Book 1 and the duel of Antilochus and Memnon in Book 2). The second and final

90 For a comparison of Paris’ reaction to Menelaus’ secret agenda during the Achaean assembly, see section 4.1.2.

91 For more thorough discussion of this ‘clash of interests’ between the Trojans and the Achaeans in this war, see Chapter 6.

92 The performances of Penthesilea and Memnon in these sections are not differentiated from those of the other heroes. See footnote 95.

TABLE 2 The structure of Books 1 and 2 compared

	Penthesilea			Memnon		
		830 v.	100%		666 v.	100%
Introduction	1–17	17 v.	2%	1–99	99 v.	14.9%
Arrival	18–221	204 v.	24.6%	100–214	115 v.	17.3%
Subdivision			*= 100%*			*= 100%*
Arrival of the new hero	*18–85*	*68 v.*	*33.3%*	*100–110*	*11 v.*	*9.6%*
Banquet	*85–137*	*53 v.*	*26%*	*111–163*	*53 v.*	*46.1%*
The morning of battle	*138–221*[a]	*84 v.*	*41.2%*	*164–214*[b]	*51 v.*	*44.4%*
Battle	222–674	453 v.	54.6%	215–548	334 v.	50.1%
Subdivision			*= 100%*			*= 100%*
Smaller battle scenes	*222–402*	*181 v.*	*40%*	*215–242*	*28 v.*	*8.4%*
Trojan women/ Antilochus	*403–476*	*74 v.*	*16.3%*	*243–344*	*102 v.*	*30.5%*
Smaller battle scenes	*476–537*[c]	*62 v.*	*13.7%*	*345–387*	*43 v.*	*12.9%*
Achilles	*538–674*	*137 v.*	*30.2%*	*388–548*	*161 v.*	*48.2%*
Mourning	675–830	156 v.	18.8%	549–666	118 v.	17.7%

a This includes Priam's prayer and the Achaeans' first impression of Penthesilea.
b Including a brief digression to Olympus (Q.S. 2.164–182); the other morning preparations mainly consist of descriptions of the armies (and Achilles) as they rush out to meet each other, before the actual clash.
c Inclulding a digression to the ships, where Ajax rouses Achilles to battle.

major battle episode describes the confrontation of the new hero by Achilles. In the last part of each book, the slain champion is mourned.

The battles in both books cover a roughly equal percentage of verses (respectively 54.6% and 50.1%). The mourning episodes are even more similar in relative length. In contrast, the arrival scene is remarkably longer for Penthesilea, and there are substantial differences in the subdivision of this episode: Memnon's banquet is more prominent,[93] but Penthesilea's first appearance is more extensively described. The same dissimilarity can be found in the description of

93 In absolute verses, both banquets comprise exactly 53 lines. However, as is discussed below, their contents are decisively different. Compared to Book 1, Memnon's banquet consumes a more substantial part of the 'arrival' than in Penthesilea's case.

the day of battle. Memnon's duel with Achilles is far longer than Penthesilea's (about half of the description of that day's fight: 48.2 % compared to only 30.2 % in Book 1). Moreover, the confrontations with Achilles have substantially different focuses. The description of Penthesilea's body is extended after her actual death (about one third of her encounter with Achilles),[94] whereas Achilles immediately abandons Memnon as he drops dead. Hence, Memnon fights Achilles much longer than Penthesilea did. In addition, Memnon is engaged in two major duels, which augments his time spent in prominent battle (nearly 80 % of the total battle, compared to Penthesilea's 18.3 %).[95] The remarkable similarities and equally significant differences in this table reveal the parallel composition of Books 1 and 2 and the dissimilar characterization of their main characters. In what follows, the analysis of Memnon's representation is considered in the light of Penthesilea's characterization.

2.3 Memnon

2.3.1 *Arrival*

When Memnon arrives in Troy, his first appearance is less marvellous than Penthesilea's. As can be noted in the above diagram, this first description takes only 11 verses, instead of 68. The Trojans are in desperate need after the disappointment of Penthesilea, and Priam has assured them of Memnon's aid instead. This new champion will have to do better. It is telling, then, that the onlooking Trojans clearly see something different from they did in the previous book:

94 The description of her death starts in verse 621, but we only leave the battlefield in verse 674, when, after Achilles has taken off her helmet and revealed her beauty, Penthesilea's father Ares is struck with grief.

95 For Memnon, I have made the sum of his duels with Antilochus and Achilles (30.5 % + 48.2 %). Penthesilea's only major duel is with Achilles (30.2 %, of which about one third, or 11.9 %, actually describes what happens after her death; hence 18.3 % remains). Besides their major duels, the smaller battle scenes also zoom in to both heroes from time to time. Penthesilea appears in Q.S. 1.227–229, 238–246, 314–402 (the climax of her battle success, but also of the narrator's second thoughts about it) and 476–493: good for an extra 119 verses or 26.3 % of battle prominence for Penthesilea. Yet, Memnon appears in the first general part from verse 235 onwards and continuously attacks Antilochus (from 243 onwards). The second general battle overview in Book 2, situated between Antilochus and Achilles (345–387), is consecrated entirely to Memnon's own 'more general' battle *aristeia*. This adds another 51 verses or 15.3 % to Memnon's active time on the battlefield. If we add all this to their major duels, Penthesilea gets 56.5 % (26.3 % + 30.2 %) of all the battle time

Τοῖσι δ' ἄρ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἀρήιος ἤλυθε Μέμνων,
Μέμνων κυανέοισι μετ' Αἰθιόπεσσιν ἀνάσσων,
ὃς κίε λαὸν ἄγων ἀπερείσιον. Ἀμφὶ δὲ Τρῶες
γηθόσυνοί μιν ἴδοντο κατὰ πτόλιν, ἠύτε ναῦται
χείματος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο δι' αἰθέρος ἀθρήσωσιν
ἤδη τειρόμενοι Ἑλίκης περιηγέος αἴγλην·
ὣς λαοὶ κεχάροντο περισταδόν, ἔξοχα δ' ἄλλων
Λαομεδοντιάδης· μάλα γάρ νύ οἱ ἦτορ ἐώλπει
δῃώσειν πυρὶ νῆας ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν Αἰθιόπεσσιν,
οὕνεκ' ἔχον βασιλῆα πελώριον ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
πολλοὶ ἔσαν καὶ πάντες ἐς Ἄρεα μαιμώωντες

Q.S. 2.100–110

Not long after that the warlike Memnon arrived,
Memnon king of the dark-skinned Aethiopians,
Leading an army that couldn't be counted. Round him the Trojans
Rejoiced to see him in their city. Just as sailors,
Exhausted after a destructive storm, catch sight
Of the Great Bear's brilliant light that wheels in the sky,
Such was the joy of the people crowding round and greatest
Was that of Laomedon's son. For now he truly hoped
To see the Aethiopians destroy the ships with fire,
Led as they were by a giant king, so great
In number and every one of them eager for war.

As announced in the assembly, Memnon is the chief of a huge army, which gives the Trojans and their king courage again. The newly arrived allies make a vigorous impression, not in the least because of the emphasis on Memnon's leadership. Note, for example, the repetition of Memnon's name in Q.S. 2.100–101, strengthened by the participles ἀνάσσων and ἄγων in verses 101 and 102. Hence, Goţia understands his arrival as a hopeful climax after the initial doubts at the opening of this book (2008, 80–81). Despite its brevity, this small scene can be placed next to its counterpart in the first book.[96] The parallel composition reveals clear differences concerning both heroes' motivations, entourages and impacts on the despairing Trojans. Whereas Penthesilea had to come to Troy

in Book 1 and Memnon 94 % (15.3 % + 30.5 % + 48.2 %) in Book 2. This confirms the point previously made about their major duels.

96 For Memnon's first impression, some information will also be derived from Priam's speech in the assembly, which precedes the actual arrival (Q.S. 2.27–40).

because she had killed her sister in bellicose fury, Memnon seems to simply respond to Priam's cry for help.[97] He brings along his army, which is described in a brief account of two verses.[98] Penthesilea's entourage was far smaller, but the extensive description (68 verses) of her splendid appearance among her twelve companions left no doubt about her beauty. As focalization shifts to the onlooking characters, Memnon turns out to stimulate Trojan hope as well as Penthesilea did (Ferreccio 2014, 70). Priam's expectations, however, are significantly different: with Penthesilea, he had only dared to hope a bit, but in Book 2 his hope even surpasses that of his subjects (ἔξοχα δ' ἄλλων, Q.S. 2.106).[99] Hence, in this small passage a first and important difference is marked: in contrast to Penthesilea, Memnon is immediately portrayed as a fierce warrior with the potential to save Troy. His first impression confirms the expectations expressed in the assembly.

Priam articulates his optimism during the banquet in Book 2, which is of a remarkably different atmosphere than that of Book 1. It is introduced by Priam enthusiastically hosting Memnon. Their first small talk is only indirectly rendered (Q.S. 2.111–126), but later on, Priam explicitly toasts the new champion (Q.S. 2.136–147). During Penthesilea's feast, the only direct speech had been Andromache's—therefore all the more emphatic—warning. This time, Memnon and Priam have a conversation of three speeches. Priam extensively voices his first impression of Memnon, his high hopes and conviction that he will defeat the Achaeans (Q.S. 2.127–135). Further contrast with Priam's focalization in Book 1 can be found in his explicit comparison of Memnon to the gods:

> "καὶ γὰρ δὴ μακάρεσσιν ἀτειρέσι πάντα ἔοικας
> ἐκπάγλως, ὡς οὔ τις ἐπιχθονίων ἡρώων·"
>
> Priam: Q.S. 2.131–132

> "I'm amazed to see that in every feature you are like
> An invincible god, surpassing any earthly warrior."

Penthesilea was repeatedly compared to deities, but most of those images occurred in the scene of her arrival or after her death, and were thus not specif-

97 The narrator does not mention this upon Memnon's actual arrival, but the reader may recall Priam's words in lines 34–35.

98 This echoes Priam's announcement of "Μέμνων ὀβριμόθυμος ἄγων ἀπερείσια φῦλα | λαῶν οἳ ναίουσι μελάμβροτον Αἰθιόπειαν" (Q.S. 2.31–32).

99 Priam's different judgment of both heroes is one of the contrasts between Books 1 and 2 noted by Vian (1963 T1, 48).

ically focused on her battle vigour. Memnon is compared to the gods far less frequently than Penthesilea was, but always in a battle context.[100] Also in this first image, Priam alludes to Memnon’s vigour. The exact words he uses are all the more significant, since Achilles used the same phrase ἐπιχθονίων ἡρώων to indicate his own superiority over the earthly heroes (Q.S. 1.577). Priam is strongly convinced that Memnon is a match for Achilles. Memnon’s answer is remarkable:

> “Οὐ μὲν χρὴ παρὰ δαιτὶ πελώριον εὐχετάασθαι
> οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ὑποσχεσίην κατανευσέμεν, ἀλλὰ ἕκηλον
> δαίνυσθ’ ἐν μεγάροισι καὶ ἄρτια μηχανάασθαι·
> εἴ τε γὰρ ἐσθλός τ’ εἰμὶ καὶ ἄλκιμος εἴ τε καὶ οὐκί,
> γνώσῃ ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ, ὁπότ’ ἀνέρος εἴδεται ἀλκή.”
>
> Memnon: Q.S. 2.148–152

> “A feast is not the place to make enormous boasts,
> Nor yet to commit oneself to a promise, but quietly
> To dine in the hall and make appropriate plans.
> Whether or not I am brave and strong you soon shall learn
> In battle; that is where the strength of a man is seen.”

Memnon’s careful reaction can be read as an indirect refutation of Penthesilea’s behaviour during her banquet in Book 1.[101] Instead of making audacious promises,[102] as his predecessor did, Memnon sticks to the matter of dinner and states that his warrior vigour will be proven on the battlefield the next day. He takes his leave of the table and goes to bed early. In the banquet scene of Book 2, more attention to direct conversation is balanced by less interest in food, which strengthens the modest impression of Memnon’s reply to Priam’s hope: unlike Penthesilea, he refuses excessive feasting before battle success

100 Memnon is compared to Ares (Q.S. 2.213), to Aisa (Q.S. 2.236–237) and to gods together with Achilles (Q.S. 2.459–460).

101 The explicitly different engagement which both heroes express during their banquet is noted by Vian (1963 T1, 48), Calero Secall (1995b), Campagnolo (2012, 142) and Ferreccio (2014, 72).

102 Vian points out that, during the Trojan assembly, Priam quotes a promise of Memnon similar to Penthesilea’s in Book 1: “Αὐτὰρ ὅ γ’ ἀσπασίως μοι ὑπέσχετο πάντα τελέσσαι | ἐλθὼν ἐς Τροίην” (“Gladly he promised me that he would come to Troy and accomplish all I asked”, Priam: Q.S. 2.36–37; 1963 T1, 48 n. 1). Given Priam’s enthusiastic welcome of Memnon, however, it seems possible that the king’s report to the assembly is coloured by the high hopes he cherishes.

(Bär 2009, 292–294; see also section 2.1.1). Memnon's moderate behaviour forms a clear contrast with Penthesilea's overconfidence in the previous book.[103] This is also reflected in the absence of the word νήπιος, which never occurs in Book 2 and thus marks a significant difference in the narrator's appreciation of both heroes, in line with Priam's new hope. Even if this hope is subdued when the narrator anticipates Memnon's defeat at the end of the banquet,[104] this new hero will most certainly meet his fate in another way than the Amazon Queen did.[105] Suspense about the battle of the next day is raised as the gods gather at a banquet of their own to heed a warning of Zeus: "Grievous suffering approaches in tomorrow's battle" (Zeus: Q.S. 2.167–168).[106] No god is allowed to change the course of events.

2.3.2 *Battle*

The next morning, Dawn awakes far more reluctantly than her son (Q.S. 2.183–189). The odds are clear only to the reader and—possibly—the gods. Characters thus far have only expressed hope. However, the approaching armies are described in a sequence of similes evoking a particular atmosphere, programmatic for this day's battle and enhancing implicit anticipation of its end. The Trojans arrive on the battlefield like a swarm of locusts (Q.S. 2.196–201). Achilles then appears. Today, he will take part in the battle from the very beginning. This confirms the impression that in *Posthomerica* 1, Achilles was still making a transition from his state of mourning—first for Patroclus, then for Penthesilea—to his full battle potential. The enemy he will meet today will, indeed, be a better match than the Amazon Queen was. Achilles' appearance is dreadful in a specific way. He is compared to the Titans (Q.S. 2.204–206), his armour looks like the stars (Q.S. 2.206–207) and his entire appearance is reminiscent of the

103 For further comments on Memnon's moderation in contrast to Penthesilea's *hybris*, see Ferreccio (2014, xix, 96–97) and Vian (1963 T1, 5, 49).

104 Memnon is said to go to his last sleep (Q.S. 2.161–162) and to awake for the last time (Q.S. 2.187). Another implicit anticipation to Troy's doom lies in the description of the goblet with which Priam proposes his toast: the genealogy of the wine cup ends with Laomedon passing on the artefact to Priam, and Priam planning to give it to his son, "but that was not fulfilled by heaven" (Q.S. 2.145).

105 Duckworth points out that the anticipations of Memnon's death are less frequent and less definite than those in Book 1 for Penthesilea (1936, 73–74). The tone of these two cases of foreshadowing is radically different, according to Goţia: "The author's favor for the latter [Memnon], who is a true match for Achilles, even if the son of Dawn will be also killed by the son of Peleus" (2007, 88; see also Goţia 2008, 82).

106 More on this scene, which is the only divine council in the *Posthomerica*, by Bär (2016, 220–222).

dawning sun (Q.S. 2.208–211).[107] On the other side, "warlike" (ἀρήιος, Q.S. 2.212) Memnon seems to be Ares himself (Q.S. 2.212–213). As a whole, these similes and comparisons recall a series of images in *Iliad* 18 to 22. Seeking revenge for Patroclus in his furious attacks on the Trojans, Achilles is repeatedly described with imagery referring to light.[108] The *Posthomerica* refers to three of these images or clusters of images in particular. First, in *Iliad* 19 no less than six (mainly shorter) light comparisons are used to describe Achilles' armour. The same type of image is used in Q.S. 2.206–207. Secondly, Achilles' comparison to dawn recalls a similar simile in *Iliad* 22.134–135.[109] Finally, and most importantly, the image of the locusts recurs. In *Iliad* 21.12–16, Achilles was a fire that killed the insects, whereas in *Posthomerica* 2, the Trojans set out as a swarm of locusts to confront him.[110] The use of these specific Iliadic images in *Posthomerica* 2 evokes the context of the central series of battles in the *Iliad*, in which Hector slays Patroclus, and Achilles will kill him in return. This parallel is rel-

107 For the ominous climax in the imagery of Achilles' appearance, see Ferreccio (2014, 121–122). The use of mythological images in Book 2 is discussed by Langella (2016, 563–565). In contrast to the dark clouds that were evoked in the first comparison of this new fighting day, when the Trojan army approached (Q.S. 2.194–195), Achilles seems to be the only source of light (Goţia 2007, 89–90). Goţia concludes that "il est intéressant de noter que dans la triade Penthésilée-Memnon-Achille le seul à affirmer avec vigueur qu'il est une grande lumière pour les siens et un fléau pour les autres est le fils de Pélée (…) tandis que l'Amazone semble l'être, sans jamais le dire de cette façon, et que Memnon l'espère; les deux seront les victimes du premier" (2008, 84).

108 The light similes and comparisons used to describe Achilles in the *Iliad* are the following: his head is like city torches (*Iliad* 18.207–214), his cuirass shines like fire (18.610), his eyes are compared to flames twice (19.16–17 and 366), his shield resembles a beam of moonlight (19.374) or a fire signal for sailors (19.375–380), his helmet looks like a star (19.381–382), his complete armour brings Hyperion to mind (19.398), Hector compares his hands to fire (20.371), Achilles is furious like a forest fire (20.490–493), he kills Trojans as a fire destroying locusts (21.12–16) and is like the smoke of a burning town in the process (21.522–525), in full armour he appears as the burning star Orion (22.26–32) and his weapons shine like fire or the dawning sun (22.134–135), and finally, as he meets Hector, his spear flashes like the evening star (22.317–320). Nowhere else in the *Iliad* is light imagery used for Achilles so frequently (Schein 1984, 151; relying on Whitman 1958, 138–144).

109 Strikingly, Achilles is compared to Dawn, who is also Memnon's mother (Goţia 2008, 82–83). Similarly, perhaps, Achilles was compared to Penthesilea's father Ares in Book 1 (see section 2.1.2). As is shown later in this section, Eos plays an important part in defining Memnon's heroic value. For further discussion of this simile, see Vian (1963 T1, 63 n. 3), James (2004, 277), Maciver (2012b, 185–186) and Ferreccio (2014, 121–122).

110 See Vian (1963 T1, 63 n. 1) and Ferreccio (2014, 117–118). This reference to the *Iliad* could be read as a careful foreshadowing of the outcome of that day's new battle. Spinoula interprets the dark swarm of insects as a symbol of Trojan doom, in contrast to Achilles' simile of the dawning sun (2008, 141–147).

evant for the further development of Memnon's *aristeia*, starting from his first major confrontation on the battlefield.

Unlike Book 1, the battle of Book 2 immediately focuses on the principal champions. As the narrator zooms in to give a detail of the fight for the first time, Achilles and Memnon successively appear during their first kills. Achilles is compared to an earthquake (Q.S. 2.229–232)[111] and Memnon to Aisa (Q.S. 2.236–237). Immediately afterwards (in verse 243), Nestor's son Antilochus appears and stands up against Memnon to protect his father. The ensuing battle is illustrated with three extended similes, each of which has a significant counterpart in the *Iliad*.[112] First, Memnon attacks Antilochus like a lion attacking a swine (Q.S. 2.247–250). In *Iliad* 16.823–826, Hector is the lion attacking a swine, namely Patroclus.[113] After Antilochus is killed, Nestor exhorts his other son to avenge his brother. Hence, Thrasymedes and his companion set out as hunters to kill a swine or a bear (Q.S. 2.282–286). In *Iliad* 17.281–284, Ajax takes the defence of Patroclus' dead body as a swine confronting huntsmen.[114] The image is inverted, but the similarity of the confrontation remains.[115] Finally, Memnon proves too strong for these two opponents,[116] and Nestor makes a last attempt himself. Memnon, however, refuses to fight him, as it would not be decent for a youth to defeat an old man (Q.S. 2.309–318).[117] Nestor, in direct speech, answers that he regrets his old age. He compares himself to an old lion that is easily chased away from the stables by dogs (Q.S. 2.330–336). It seems as if Nestor recalls and adapts a simile from *Iliad* 17.108–113, where Menelaus has to withdraw before the Trojans fighting over Patroclus' body like a lion who is

111 This image is discussed in section 3.1.

112 Campagnolo (2012, resp. 195 and 237) and Ferreccio (2014, resp. 139–140, 157, 177) make a few isolated remarks about each of these images and their Iliadic intertextuality throughout their commentaries.

113 The word for 'swine' in the *Iliad* is σῦν, instead of καπρίῳ in the *Posthomerica*. See also Vian (1963 T1, 65 n. 2), James (2004, 278) and particularly Ferreccio (2014, xx and 140).

114 This time, the *Iliad* uses the word καπρίῳ and the *Posthomerica* συὸς.

115 Vian (1963 T1, 66 n. 5), James (2004, 278) and Campagnolo (2012, 213) put forward another possible intertext: in *Iliad* 12.41–48, hunters (Achaeans) anxiously face a boar or a lion (Hector). This parallel may again strengthen the image of Memnon as a Hector-like figure, against the weaker Achaeans.

116 In a final comparison, they are compared to jackals killing a deer, but fearing the lion themselves (Q.S. 2.298–300). For possible Homeric intertexts, see Vian (1963 T1, 67 n. 3).

117 There need not be a contradiction between this refusal of Memnon and his previous attack on the old man, which was prevented by Antilochus (Q.S. 2.243–244). Memnon explains that only now, by taking a closer look, has he recognized Nestor as an old man (Q.S. 2.310–312). See also Vian (1963 T1, 67 n. 6), James (2004, 278) and Boyten (2010, 140–145). Nestor's old age will be a compromising factor for his participation in the ruse of the Horse as well (see section 5.2).

chased away from the stables by dogs. Thus, each of the three extended similes describing Antilochus' death reminds us of Patroclus' defeat and the battle over his body in the *Iliad*.[118] This parallel forms a necessary setup for the final confrontation of this day's battle, where Achilles himself will meet this Hector-like figure.

Memnon's *aristeia* continues in three vigorous similes (Q.S. 2.345–354, 371–378 and 379–387) and only one ominous anticipation of Moira's plans (Q.S. 2.361–362). Apart from this small reminiscence of doom, Memnon's prowess is not doubted at this point in battle, unlike Penthesilea's in the second part of her *aristeia* (see section 2.1.2). Nestor eventually has to beg Achilles to save Antilochus' body (Q.S. 2.390–394). Thus, he instigates the final and major encounter of the day. As Achilles and Memnon finally meet, they start with a round of flyting.[119] Unlike in Book 1, where Penthesilea and Achilles had also scorned each other before the fight, both heroes in Book 2 have already wounded each other with first blows (Q.S. 2.401–410). Their flyting speeches are also scaled on a more equal level. Memnon, the son of Eos, challenges Achilles by stating that his mother is superior to Thetis (Q.S. 2.412–429). In return, the first and longest part of Achilles' speech is dedicated to arguing why his own mother deserves more respect than Eos. He finishes his speech with a revealing threat:

“Γνώσῃ δ’ ὡς θεός ἐστιν, ἐπὴν δόρυ χάλκεον εἴσω
ἐς τεὸν ἧπαρ ἵκηται ἐμῇ βεβλημένον ἀλκῇ·
Ἕκτορα γὰρ Πατρόκλοιο, σὲ δ’ Ἀντιλόχοιο χολωθεὶς
τίσομαι· οὐ γὰρ ὄλεσσας ἀνάλκιδος ἀνδρὸς ἑταῖρον.
Ἀλλὰ τί νηπιάχοισιν ἐοικότες ἀφραδέεσσιν

118 The confrontation between Memnon and Antilochus in itself seems less comparable to that of Hector and Patroclus (*Iliad* 16.726–867). Still, a few other minor echoes could be mentioned: Antilochus kills a beloved companion of Memnon (Q.S. 2.245–247), thus evoking the latter's anger (compare Cebriones' death in *Iliad* 16.734–763). Antilochus wards off the first attack with a rock (Q.S. 2.251–252; compare to the rock with which Patroclus kills Cebriones in *Iliad* 16.734–739). It is the ringing sound of Memnon's helmet that enrages the latter and instigates his final attack (Q.S. 2.252–256), whereas Apollo strikes the helmet off Patroclus' head as the first step in his defeat (*Iliad* 16.793–796).

119 Flyting is part of the Iliadic battle system. Maciver, who uses the term in relation to the judgment of arms in *Posthomerica* 5 (see also section 3.3.2), defines it as “a mode of speech where two heroes talk up their own prowess to the detriment of, and in contrast to, the prowess of the other” (2012a, 611–612; referring to *inter alia* Martin's discussion about Iliadic flytes: 1989, 67–77). The speeches of Achilles and Memnon even take an encomiastic turn, as the heroes discuss the superiority of their own mothers (Ferreccio 2014, 217–218).

ἕσταμεν ἡμετέρων μυθεύμενοι ἔργα τοκήων
ἠδ' αὐτῶν; Ἐγγὺς γὰρ Ἄρης, ἐγγὺς ⟨δὲ⟩ καὶ ἀλκή."

Achilles: Q.S. 2.445–451

"You'll know her for a goddess when my brazen spear
By the strength of my arm is driven into your liver.
As Hector for Patroclus so you for Antilochos
I'll punish, because no weakling's comrade have you killed.
But why are we standing here like silly children,
Prattling about what we and our parents have achieved?
Now is the time for warfare, now is the time for prowess."

With these words, Achilles makes explicit what several intertextual references had already suggested before: *Posthomerica* 2 has established a relevant connection between the Iliadic Patroclus and Hector on the one hand, and what could be called their 'Posthomeric counterparts', Antilochus and Memnon, on the other. More specifically, the parallel between these two episodes in the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* is significant for the development of Achilles' plotline, which must soon end. The confrontation between Memnon and Achilles is essentially provoked by the death of Antilochus.[120] In Q.S. 2.390–394, Nestor asked Achilles to save his son's body from the Trojans. As Achilles heard of Antilochus' death, he was struck by grief and sought out Memnon: ἤλυθέ οἱ κατέναντα χολούμενος Ἀντιλόχοιο ("He headed for Memnon, angry because of Antilochus", Q.S. 2.400). Antilochus, in turn, forms a close link to Patroclus in the Iliadic tradition. Not only was he Achilles' closest friend after Patroclus (*Odyssey* 24.78–79),[121] he also brought Achilles the news of Patroclus' death (*Iliad* 18.1–2). Nestor now echoes that sad situation by announcing his son's death to Achilles (James 2004, 278) and sends him on a cycle of revenge quite similar to Homer's Patroclus episode.[122] The entire passage concerning Antilochus, Memnon and Achilles is marked by specific intertextual references to the *Iliad*.[123] The narrator now wants the reader to see through these

120 See Campagnolo (2012, 297–299) for further discussion and other traditions on this topic.

121 For the relation between Homer, Arctinus and Quintus regarding Antilochus' friendship, see Sodano (1952, 190–192).

122 Boyten compares Achilles' Iliadic grief for Patroclus and his (briefer) Posthomeric grief for Antilochus, which does not convince me, however, that Achilles has become more violent and less sensible to loss in the *Posthomerica* (2010, 106–109).

123 E.g. the three similes discussed above. More possible intertextual references are listed by *inter alia* Sodano (1952, 180–181), James (2004, 278), Boyten (2010, 106–107) and Ferreccio (2014, xix–xx, 139–140, 210). In turn, the Iliadic story of Hector and Patroclus could well

implicit allusions and, in Achilles' flyting speech, explicitly connects the events in Book 2 to Achilles' past in the *Iliad*. This, in turn, will form a clear stepping stone to Achilles' death in the near future (see section 2.4).

Achilles' speech also marks another clear difference from Book 1. Whereas he had disdainfully scorned Penthesilea's challenge (Q.S. 1.586–587), he makes considerable effort to respond to Memnon's flyting, even if the latter's verbal attack shows clear similarities to Penthesilea's insolent speeches (both her challenge in Achilles' absence and her boast about her divine father). Like Penthesilea, Memnon scorns Achilles' claim "to be the mightiest man (πάντων … πολὺ φέρτατος … ἀνδρῶν) in all the world, the son of a deathless daughter of Nereus" (Memnon: Q.S. 2.415–416) and underlines his own mother's superiority over Thetis, to prove the opposite: "So I don't shrink from fighting you to the bitter end, because I know my goddess mother far excels the daughter of Nereus (προφερεστέρη … Νηρεΐδος) whose son you boast of being" (Memnon: Q.S. 2.420–422). By providing a serious answer, Achilles this time shows respect not only for his opponent, but also for the latter's divine parent. In contrast to Book 1, where Achilles had confidently assumed that Ares would not be able to stop him (Achilles: Q.S. 1.585–586), his answer to Memnon (Q.S. 2.431–451) mainly consists of an extensive argumentation about why Thetis is better than Eos (see also Ferreccio 2014, 233). Achilles seems to consider Memnon a worthy opponent. This is confirmed by the way Zeus looks upon the duel as it starts moments later:

Ζεὺς δὲ μέγ' ἀμφοτέροισι φίλα φρονέων βάλε κάρτος,
τεῦξε δ' ἄρ' ἀκαμάτους καὶ μείζονας, οὐδὲν ὁμοίους
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖσιν· Ἔρις δ' ἐπεγήθεεν ἄμφω.

Q.S. 2.458–460

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be inspired by the oral tradition of Memnon and Antilochus (see Burgess' 'vengeance theory': 2009, 72–73, 79–80, 90; on the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis*, Fenik 1968, 235–240; see also Schein 1984, 24–29). Quintus could then have inverted the situation again, by portraying Antilochus as 'the new Patroclus'. This was first noted by Saint-Beuve: "[Antiloque] c'est un Patrocle immolé par ce nouvel Hector, et qui, en périssant, va également susciter la douleur et la vengeance d'Achille" (1857, 392). Despite the centrality of the Memnon story in the oral tradition and its possible influence on Hector's contest in the *Iliad*, Quintus clearly looks back to the *Iliad*, both in implicit intertextual references and in this specific passage, by explicitly naming Hector and Patroclus as parallels. Hence, it seems plausible that Quintus has inverted the roles of model and imitation again: in itself (possibly) inspired by stories about Memnon in the oral tradition, the *Iliad* now in turn forms the explicit source material for Quintus' retelling of the traditional Memnon episode.

> Zeus favored both and gave to both enormous strength.
> Tireless he made them and increased their size until
> They looked like gods, not men, delighting the heart of Strife.

The two heroes seem well matched, and this leads to a remarkably long duel that is extensively described by the narrator. Indeed, Quintus gives an exceptionally long description of Memnon's duel with Achilles, compared to other accounts of the same battle in the literary tradition (Burgess 2009, 33–34). He uses several digressions to prolong the apparent duration of the duel. Twice he leaves the warriors to their fight while he gives a panoramic overview of the battlefield.[124] He also describes part of the fight from the viewpoint of the gods, who quarrel until the Fates seal the outcome.[125] This divine focalization allows the narrator to confirm the supernatural descent of both heroes, which was an important starting point of the duel. Both goddesses now fear for their own sons (Q.S. 2.497–501), but cannot supplicate Zeus for his favour after his explicit prohibition earlier in Book 2. Thus, suspense about the outcome is raised to its climax just before the *psychostasia* by the Keres. In the next detail of the duel, two comparisons again illustrate the similar strength of both heroes. They are like Titans or Giants (Q.S. 2.517–519) and like two headlands, each unmoved by the other (Q.S. 2.522–523). These explicit efforts to extend the fight underline Memnon's capacity to face Achilles (Ferreccio 2014, 272). Compared to this, Penthesilea's short and fatal meeting with Achilles seems to be a poor attempt to engage in the heroic war game. The totality of Penthesilea's fight with Achilles (and Ajax) consisted of four blows: first, she threw two spears, both in vain (Q.S. 1.547–549 and 562–568). The next two blows were Achilles': with the first, he badly injured the Amazon (Q.S. 1.592–597), and with the second one he finished the job (Q.S. 1.611–624). Achilles and Memnon, on the other hand, manage to wound each other in their first attack (Q.S. 2.401–409). Then, both heroes confront each other on equal footing, swords in hands (Q.S. 452–546).[126] This equality is maintained until the very last moment. Mem-

124 In Q.S. 2.467–489, the dust from the battle rises so high that a god has to clear it away, as the general fighting continues unabated. The second panoramic view focuses on the victims of the slaughter and displays the many corpses (525–537). Both digressions are illustrated by a simile evoking stormy or dark weather (Q.S. 2.471–477 and 532–537). See also Goţia (2007, 93–99).

125 The Keres take their place on either side of battle and thus indicate Achilles' victory at hand (Q.S. 2.507–513). For further discussion on this *psychostasia*, see Vian (1963, T1, 51–52), Lelli (ed. 2013, xlv), Gärtner (2007, 232–235) and Ferreccio (2014, 266–267).

126 For the equally matched forces of Achilles and Memnon, see also Vian (1963 T1, 49), Calero Secall (1995b, 54), Boyten (2010, 115–119) and Ferreccio (2014, 233, 242).

non's chances turn as the odds are suddenly no longer balanced (τὰ δ' οὐκέτι ἶσα πέλοντο, Q.S. 2.541), and he falls by one deadly blow from Achilles (Q.S. 2.542–547).

2.3.3 Post Mortem

After killing Memnon, Achilles quickly disappears into the turmoil to chase the Trojans. The rest of Book 2 is exclusively devoted to mourning and Memnon's funeral. As he is carried away, Memnon is accorded one last simile: his companions take him home like a hunter killed by a boar or lion (Q.S. 2.575–582). This image refers back to two instances of Memnon's *aristeia*, only now, the hunter himself is sadly killed (Spinoula 2008, 213–216).[127] The final episodes of *Posthomerica* 2 mainly focus on Eos' grief, which temporarily causes her to abandon her task as light bringer (Q.S. 2.593–627, 634–641, 656–666), and on the transportation of the corpse to Memnon's homeland, where several miraculous reminiscences of the king still remain (Q.S. 2.550–592, 642–655). In analogy to section 2.1.3, I will not go into much detail about the funerary rites. Little comparison can be made between the posthumous treatment of Penthesilea and Memnon. A first significant difference is Achilles' lack of concern for Memnon after the latter's death, which starkly contrasts with his grief for Penthesilea in Book 1. Furthermore, the tomb of the Amazon Queen in an honorary place in Troy cannot be compared to Memnon's final resting-place far away from Troy, nor is he attributed similar funerary rites.[128] Even if the parents of both slain heroes experience similar grief and even are tempted to temporary—but eventually subdued—revolt, Eos' part in Book 2, particularly after Memnon's death, is more substantial than Ares' in Book 1. The rivalry between the goddesses Eos and Thetis and their fear for the fate of their sons are emphasized on several occasions throughout the book, most emphatically in the flyting speeches of their sons.[129] In her mourning, Eos seems to refer back to that quarrel in bitter words: she considers herself equal to Thetis and thus feels wronged that she

127 See footnote 47 for a similar simile sequence about deer hunting in Book 1.

128 Memnon's funeral recalls Sarpedon's in the *Iliad* (Carvounis 2014, 203; for the Aethiopian landscapes in these scenes, see ibid. 201–206 and André 2015–2016, 210–211). An intra- and intertextual analysis of this funeral is made by Wenglinsky (2002, 207–213). Maciver (2016) discusses the uncertainty of the narrator about Memnon's afterlife (Q.S. 2.650–653).

129 For the 'weight of both mothers' in the conflict, see Camerotto (2011, 417–425). Ferreccio points out that the mother's loss is a key theme in *Posthomerica* 2 (2014, xxvii–xxviii). It seems a bit far-fetched, however, to indicate this sadness as the one central issue of the book, especially given the complex narrative relationship between Books 1 and 2 and the dialogue in characterization between both of its protagonists.

had to lose her son (“οὐ γὰρ ἀτιμοτέρη Νηρηΐδος”, Eos: Q.S. 2.616). Wrathfully, she considers depriving the world of daylight in return: “I’m off to the darkness. Zeus can bring Thetis up to Olympus from the sea, in order to shine for gods and men” (Eos: Q.S. 2.619–620). Hence, the mortal duel mirrors a rivalry on a higher level. Just as their mothers are placed in higher esteem than Ares, the funerary honours of Memnon bear closer resemblance to Achilles’ funeral than to Penthesilea’s (see section 3.2.2).

2.4 Towards *Posthomerica* 3: a Sealed Fate

The parallel composition of Books 1 and 2 invited a study of contrasting characterization concerning two new champions coming to Troy to defeat Achilles. Although both heroes eventually failed, Memnon’s attempt was far more creditable than Penthesilea’s. Both heroes answered the same challenges in completely different ways. Memnon’s more moderate attitude and notable battle vigour were better received and seemed more effective than Penthesilea’s *hybris* and Amazon strength. As a consequence, their doom may have been the same, but not so their judgment by figures key to the plot, such as Priam and Achilles, or the narrator. The Amazon Queen and the son of Eos could be understood as two examples of bad and better practice of heroic behaviour on the battlefield. Their words and deeds, their successes and eventual failures, even if similarly structured, evoke substantially different reactions and judgments from the narrator and their fellow characters, both friends and foes. By replaying the same plot twice, the narrator encourages a comparison between the ways in which both heroes find their place in the same heroic context and even deal with the same opponent. This is a fruitful way to start the epic, and to both re-activate the well-known battle context of the *Iliad* and immediately make it the stage of the new, post-Iliadic narrative, introducing new heroes and re-introducing the old ones.

Penthesilea and Memnon may have been the ‘local protagonists’ of Books 1 and 2; on the larger scale of the epic, they are mainly two antagonists of Achilles. The first two books of the *Posthomerica* have specifically served to allow Achilles to come back to battle, help him forget his grief and let him kill Hector again—or more specifically, his substitutes, the one more convincing than the other. Throughout the epic, three different champions assume Hector’s place in different ways. As the first one to arrive after Hector’s death, Penthesilea’s association with Hector is particularly focused on how she can(not) be the new hope of the Trojans. Memnon’s resemblance to Hector especially resounds in his confrontation with Achilles, for whom he is a sec-

ond Hector that has to be killed.[130] Penthesilea and Memnon are the last ones to face Achilles, and thus serve as a direct introduction to the next episode in Achilles' story, which will be broached in *Posthomerica* 3. As we have seen, Achilles vanishes into the turmoil immediately after slaughtering Memnon (Q.S. 2.547–548). As he reappears at the beginning of Book 3, he is still possessed by the same rage:

Πηλείδης δ' ἑτάροιο χολούμενος Ἀντιλόχοιο
σμερδνὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι κορύσσετο· τοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
καί περ ὑποτρομέοντες ἐυμμελίην Ἀχιλῆα
τείχεος ἐξεχέοντο μεμαότες, οὕνεκ' ἄρά σφι
Κῆρες ἐνὶ στέρνοισι θράσος βάλον (…)
Καί νύ κε πάντας ὄλεσσε, πύλας δ' εἰς οὖδας ἔρεισε
θαιρῶν ἐξερύσας, ἢ καὶ συνέαξεν ὀχῆας
δόχμιος ἐγχριμφθείς, Δαναοῖσι δ' ἔθηκε κέλευθον
ἐς Πριάμοιο πόληα, διέπραθε δ' ὄλβιον ἄστυ,
εἰ μή οἱ μέγα Φοῖβος ἀνηλέι χώσατο θυμῷ.
Q.S. 3.10–30

Rage for his friend Antilochus made the son of Peleus
Terrible as he armed against the Trojans. But they,
In spite of their fear for Achilles of the ashwood spear,
Poured out eagerly from their gates, because their breasts
Were filled with courage by the Fates. (…)
He [Achilles] would have killed them all and dashed their gates to the ground,
Tearing them from their hinges, or would have smashed the bolts
With a sideward blow and opened a way for the Danaans
Into Priam's city and would have plundered its wealth,
If anger had not filled the merciless heart of Phoebus.

The reference to Antilochus in line 10 puts the beginning of *Posthomerica* 3, and thus the immediate cause of Achilles' death, into dialogue with the events in Book 2 and the then-evoked intertextuality with the *Iliad* (remember ἤλυθέ οἱ κατέναντα χολούμενος Ἀντιλόχοιο, Q.S. 2.400). As became clear in both indirect references and the explicit statement of Achilles (Q.S. 2.447), Memnon

130 A third champion who, later in the epic, will bring the ghost of Hector back to life is Eurypylus. He will be characterized as 'the new Hector' where Neoptolemus appears as 'the new Achilles'. See chapter 4.

was killed in revenge for Antilochus, just as Hector was killed in revenge for Patroclus. In the *Iliad*, Achilles knew there was a price to pay for this revenge: in exchange for staying in Troy and killing his foe, Achilles himself would die soon afterward.[131] This, however, has not yet happened at the beginning of the *Posthomerica*. Quintus' decision to write a sequel to Homer involves the obligation to kill Achilles. In Book 2, the narrator evokes the hero's direct history, forming the prelude to his death, so that he will be able to resume Achilles' story and finish it in Book 3. With Memnon, Achilles has killed Hector again, and now he will have to pay the price. After an extensive introduction of two books, the *Posthomerica* has 12 books left to tell what will happen when Achilles dies.

131 He makes his final decision in *Iliad* 18.98–126, in a speech to his mother Thetis.

CHAPTER 3

The Death and Inheritance of Achilles

He's gotta be larger than life[1]

∵

The first five books of the *Posthomerica* may well be regarded as the first narrative cluster of the epic, starring Achilles as its central character. After two more of his victories, discussed in Chapter 2, the third book is dedicated to the death of the biggest Iliadic hero, which will automatically lead to the complex issue of his inheritance in Books 4 and 5. Vian outlines the central significance of Book 3 in this composition: in other traditions (Vian refers to Arctinus), Memnon and Achilles die on the same day. By postponing Achilles' death to the next day and a new book, however, Achilles' central place in the first five books is secured.[2] The heritage of Achilles forms a bridge between the Iliadic past, personified by Achilles, and the future of the Trojan War without him. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, Book 3 is marked by a remarkable amount of Homeric influence, even for Quintus, as he parts with this great hero.[3]

After Achilles dies an impressive death (section 3.1), both his material possessions and his outstanding position in the hierarchy must be passed on to new champions. Plenty of opportunity for these new competitors to prove themselves is provided during the battle around Achilles' corpse (section 3.2.2), in his funeral games (section 3.2.3.) and the judgment of arms (section 3.3). Among other heroes, Ajax and Odysseus make the most important claims. This chapter focuses on their successive attempts to obtain and maintain Achilles' legacy in *Posthomerica* 3 to 5. These books are marked by their engagement

1 "Holding out for a Hero"—Bonnie Tyler.
2 Vian (1963 T1, 87–89). More observations about the coherence of the first five books ibid. (T1 9, 129, 132 and 1966 T2, 3).
3 "Aussi n'est-il aucun livre des *Posthomériques* où l'imitation homérique soit plus sensible et plus constante" (Vian 1963 T1, 87). Particularly the Patroclus episode and Book 24 of the *Odyssey* have to be taken into account. Also, Baumbach makes note of the meaningful, yet changing Homeric intertextuality throughout the first cluster of books, but finds the strongest adherence to Homer in the funeral games of Book 4 and the shield description at the beginning of Book 5 (2007, 109–110).

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with Homer, but also by a clear departure from him. In their rivalry to succeed Achilles, the debate between Ajax and Odysseus represents not only an explicit confrontation between characters, but also a clash of heroic convictions, as one hero envisages—successfully—following the precedent of Achilles, whereas the other proposes—convincingly—the adoption of a new heroic course of action.[4]

3.1 Achilles: Iliadic Power

After having slain Memnon, Achilles vanishes into the hubbub like a storm (Q.S. 2.547–548), to re-emerge no earlier than at the beginning of Book 3. A new fighting day starts with the funeral of Antilochus (Q.S. 3.1–9). The latter's commemoration specifically resounds in Achilles' wrath, which will be the first indicator and instigator of the new day's battle: as quoted in section 2.4, Achilles takes up arms again out of "rage for his friend Antilochus" (χολούμενος Ἀντιλόχοιο, Q.S. 3.10). Thus, the beginning of Book 3 is presented as a logical continuation of the Memnon episode. Duckworth describes Achilles' now-imminent death as a "sudden surprise", for lack of anticipations of it before *Posthomerica* 3 (1936, 79–80). It seems to me, however, that the entire plot of Book 2 has provided sufficient reminiscences of the Iliadic history, and the Patroclus and Hector episode in particular,[5] to at least implicitly foreshadow what is now about to happen.

Achilles' new rage is destructive: he would have killed all and taken Troy, were it not for Apollo (Q.S. 3.26–31). This 'if not-situation' (Nünlist & de Jong 2000, 171) recalls two similar counterfactuals during Achilles' rage in *Iliad* 21. In the first, he would have slaughtered many more Trojans were it not for Scamander's rage (*Iliad* 21.211–212). Later in the same book, Achilles' chase of the Trojans would have led the Achaeans straight into the city, were it not for Apollo's intervention (*Iliad* 21.537–546).[6] A situation of similarly destructive proportions—and consequences—is now developed in *Posthomerica* 3. After two books, Achilles seems to have reached a climax of anger. This is already shown in the evolution of his engagement in battle: in *Posthomerica* 1, he was roused by Ajax's exhortation, but in Book 2 he rode out with the rest of the army at dawn. This third battle day starts rather abruptly, with Achilles appearing

4 First observations about this matter have been published in my 2016a article.

5 Additional intertextuality to his Iliadic rage can be found in a brief description of the rivers Xanthus and Simoeis "choked with corpses" (Q.S. 3. 23–24; see also Mansur 1940, 5).

6 In *Iliad* 16, Patroclus posed a similar threat (discussed below).

practically in the middle of battle.[7] For the first time, no extensive preparations for battle are described. Achilles' rage is immediate and terribly effective, which stirs an angered Apollo to intervene. Like a wild beast, he descends from Olympus to calm Achilles:

Αἶψα δ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο κατήλυθε θηρὶ ἐοικὼς
ἰοδόκην ὤμοισιν ἔχων καὶ ἀναλθέας ἰούς·
ἔστη δ' Αἰακίδαο καταντίον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ
γωρυτὸς καὶ τόξα μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων
πῦρ ἄμοτον μάρμαιρε, ποσὶν δ' ὑπὸ κίνυτο γαῖα.
Σμερδαλέον δ' ἤυσε μέγας θεός, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλῆα
τρέψῃ ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο θεοῦ ὄπα ταρβήσαντα
θεσπεσίην καὶ Τρῶας ὑπ' ἐκ θανάτοιο σαώσῃ·
Q.S. 3.32–39

Down from Olympus he came with the speed of a savage beast;
Over his shoulders his quiver was filled with deadly arrows.
Facing Aeacus' grandson he stood, while on his back
Loudly rattled his bow in its case and from his eyes
Came constant flashes of fire; the ground shook under his feet.
The great god gave a terrible shout, to deter Achilles
From the battle for fear of the supernatural voice
Of a god and so to save the Trojans from being killed.

This ominous description calls to mind Apollo's descent in *Iliad* 1,[8] where he leaves Olympus to avenge Chryses by sending the plague to the Achaean camp (Vian 1963 T1, 97 n. 2):

7 The Trojans undergo a more puzzling evolution. In *Posthomerica* 1, they simply cower within the city walls (Q.S. 1.11–14). In Book 2, they call an assembly to discuss their peril and their fear has even increased (Q.S. 2.5–8). On the third day, however, the Trojans pour out of the city without a new champion to protect them, "in spite of their fear of Achilles" (Q.S. 3.12). Vian argues that they have no logical reason to do so (1963 T1, 89), were it not for the plan of the Keres (Q.S. 3.11–14). The beginning of Book 3 indeed seems to be composed with some knowledge of Achilles' impending death.

8 James also notes the appearance of Apollo in *Argonautica* 2.674–680 (2004, 281). Apart from the weapons over his shoulder and the trembling earth, however, both situations and descriptions are manifestly different. In contrast to the *Posthomerica*, the destination of the Apollonian Apollo is not specified, nor can any direct threat be detected. All in all, the Apollonian appearance is more shining than terrible.

βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,
τόξ’ ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην·
ἔκλαγξαν δ’ ἄρ’ ὀιστοὶ ἐπ’ ὤμων χωομένοιο,
αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος· ὃ δ’ ἤιε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.
Iliad 1.44–47

> Down from the peaks of Olympus he strode, angry at heart, with his bow and covered quiver on his shoulders. The arrows rattled on the shoulders of the angry god as he moved; and his coming was like the night.

In both cases, the appearance of the god is described in a sinister comparison. Moreover, the Iliadic χωόμενος κῆρ (line 44) is echoed at the end of the Posthomeric if not-situation, right before Apollo's descent: εἰ μὴ οἱ μέγα Φοῖβος ἀνηλέι χώσατο θυμῷ ("if anger had not filled the merciless heart of Phoebus", Q.S. 3.30). Last but not least, attention is twice drawn to the weapons on the god's shoulder and the rattling sound they make. This overall resemblance of the two scenes creates a connection to the beginning of the *Iliad*, recalling Achilles' past and possibly suggesting a new and final episode in his life. Moreover, this intertextual reminiscence creates strong suspense. Bearing in mind the disastrous consequences of Apollo's previous mission, the reader may well suspect that the god is on a mission to punish sacrilege again. The narrator, however, specifies that the god only aims to turn Achilles away from the fight. Apollo addresses the hero with a thundering warning, which he expects to be heeded (Q.S. 3.40–42). The *Iliad* shows two possible precedents for this situation. In both cases, Apollo directly speaks to a raging Achaean hero and urges him to fall back. Both Diomedes (*Iliad* 5.440–442) and Patroclus (*Iliad* 16.706–709) obey (Vian 1963 T1, 97 n. 3). Patroclus posed a similar threat to the Trojans as Achilles does in *Posthomerica* 3. In *Iliad* 16.700–704, the former set foot on the Trojan threshold three times, and would have been successful if Apollo had not withheld him (Vian 1963 T1, 97 n. 1). This if not-situation is later recalled by Thetis: "All day long they fought around the Scaean gates, and on that very day they would have laid the city waste, if Apollo had not, after the valiant son of Menoetius had done much harm, slain him among the foremost fighters and given glory to Hector" (*Iliad* 18.453–456). Although Patroclus heeds Apollo's warning and withdraws as he should, the episode does not have a happy ending. Later in the same fight, Patroclus three times rushes at the Trojans, recalling his first attack on the city walls. Apollo again intervenes, this time without a warning, and paralyzes Patroclus to have him killed (*Iliad* 16.787 ff.). Altogether, then, Patroclus' *aristeia* seems to resound in Achilles' last battle: both heroes pose a similar threat to the Trojans, which is illustrated by an ominous if-not situation. Even-

tually, Apollo stops them from causing more harm to Trojan lives and the city gates.[9] This reminiscence of Patroclus' death, in the final episode of Achilles' life, may well have a dramatic aspect: it was Patroclus' death that made Achilles decide to forsake his own life and take up his weapons again. However, Quintus does not merely stage Achilles as a second Patroclus. Achilles' behaviour in *Posthomerica* 3 exceeds that of his friend, whom he had once warned against Apollo himself. Before Patroclus left for battle, Achilles had advised him not to challenge "one of the gods" to come down from Olympus (μή τις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεῶν αἰειγενετάων | ἐμβήῃ, *Iliad* 16.93–94), especially Apollo, who loves the Trojans. This warning resounds in Apollo's Posthomeric speech to Achilles, where the god similarly tells him that "one of the deities of Olympus" will punish him if he continues like this (μή σε καὶ ἀθανάτων τις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο χαλέψῃ, Apollo: Q.S. 3.42). Instead of heeding the advice he had himself provided to Patroclus, and in contrast to any example in the *Iliad*, Achilles now scorns Apollo explicitly:

"Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε μ' ἀποστρέψας ὀρυμαγδοῦ
ἤπαφες, ὁππότε πρῶτον ὑπεξεσάωσας ὀλέθρου
Ἕκτορα τῷ μέγα Τρῶες ἀνὰ πτόλιν εὐχετόωντο.
Ἀλλ' ἀναχάζεο τῆλε καὶ ἐς μακάρων ἕδος ἄλλων
ἔρχεο, μή σε βάλοιμι καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἐόντα."
Achilles: Q.S. 3.48–52

"Once before you tricked and decoyed me from the fighting,
The first time that you rescued Hector from death,
The man the Trojans exalted so highly in their city.
Back off now, far away, and join the rest of the gods
At home, or I will strike you, immortal though you are."

Achilles refers to a specific passage in *Iliad* 20.441–454, where Apollo snatched Hector away from Achilles' fury.[10] Whereas he then still respected divine authority, he now not only rejects Apollo's warning, but also directly threatens him and continues his pursuit of the Trojans. With such explicit words and

9 Throughout *Iliad* 16, Apollo was a rather prominent player. He helped the Trojans in more ways than simply opposing Patroclus. Glaucus, for example, prayed to him for strength (*Iliad* 16.514 ff.) and the disguised god exhorted Hector (*Iliad* 16.715 ff.). Achilles also warns Patroclus about Apollo, as is discussed below.

10 James points out that Apollo also saved Agenor from Achilles in a similar way in *Iliad* 21.596–605 (2004, 282).

deeds, Achilles commits pure sacrilege, unseen in the *Iliad*. In *Iliad* 5.348–351, Diomedes chased off Aphrodite with a similar threat. As has been noted above, however, the same hero later heeded Apollo's warning and retreated at his request. Moreover, Diomedes' attacks on Aphrodite and Ares were supported by Athena (e.g. *Iliad* 5.815–834 and 855–857). In *Iliad* 22.15–20, Achilles cursed Apollo for snatching away Agenor, but finished his speech with a more moderate desire for revenge: "I would certainly avenge myself on you, had I but the power" (Vian 1963 T1, 98 n. 1). Achilles' Posthomeric speech does not contain such a restriction, which marks it as a more extreme example of *hybris*.[11] He spoils the chance Apollo had given him to retreat and this stirs the god to action. Looking back, the threatening descent of Apollo is now definitely justified: like Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, Achilles has stirred—even inflamed—Apollo's wrath. The latter may already have been angered before he came down to Troy,[12] but Achilles' death will be a direct consequence of the words he has spoken. This is specified by Apollo: "Not even the son of Cronus himself or anyone else can tolerate such insane defiance of the gods" (Q.S. 3.58–59).[13] After that, the god covers himself and strikes Achilles with a deadly arrow in the ankle (Q.S. 3.60–62).[14] Hence, Achilles' death is clearly presented as a divine punishment for *hybris*. This may also explain why Apollo acts alone, and not with the help of Paris, as a well-known—perhaps even more popular—version of the tradition attests.[15] Quintus makes a remarkable choice here, which is significant for Achilles' representation in two different ways. On the one hand, it stresses Achilles' humanity: like other men, he cannot scorn divine authority. His severe punishment is well deserved, if perhaps rather anti-climactic after

11 Boyten extends this observation to a metapoetical level: Achilles goes further than in Homer and thus (?) challenges epic tradition itself (2010, 98–100).

12 Compare the word χώσατο as the reason for Apollo's descent (Q.S. 3.30) to Achilles' understanding of the situation as soon as he is shot: "Καὶ εἰ θεὸς εὔχεται εἶναι | χωόμενος Δαναοῖς" ("Even if he says he's a god who's angry with the Danaans", Achilles: Q.S. 3.77–78). Moreover, it became clear that Achilles' time had come even before his audacious speech: "Already the merciless Fates were hovering over him" (Q.S. 3.44).

13 For further discussion on Achilles as a *theomachos* and the divine response to his *hybris*, see Wenglinsky (1999, 80–85 and 2002, 224–240).

14 He hides his appearance in mist, just as before his mortal attack on Patroclus in *Iliad* 16.788–790 (James 2004, 282).

15 Paris and Apollo work together in e.g. the *Aethiopis*, Apollodorus, and in Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.57–58) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (12.600). Euripides' *Hecuba* (387–388) only mentions Paris. Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (334–335) mentions Apollo as the only killer. The *Iliad* offers both options (discussed below). Further references in Sodano (1947, 58–61) and Vian (1963 T1, 91 n. 3). Wenglinsky specifies that the *Posthomerica* is unique in its detailed description of Apollo's performance (2002, 231).

his impressive heroic life.[16] On the other hand, however, the exclusively divine nature of his murderer may also hint at his supreme status among humans: it takes a god to bring him down, and the help of an ill-reputed hero is not needed.[17] Elsewhere, Paris' doubtful heroic reputation is sometimes deemed a stain on Achilles' honour. An expressive example can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where Achilles dies by Paris' arrow, which is directed by Apollo.[18] As Achilles falls down, the narrator scornfully addresses him:

> ille igitur tantorum victor, Achille,
> victus es a timido Graiae raptore maritae!
> *Metamorphoses*[19] 12.608–609

> So then, Achilles, thou conqueror of the mightiest, thou art thyself o'ercome by the cowardly ravisher of a Grecian's wife!

Without necessarily arguing that the *Posthomerica* directly engages with this Latin source, I do find that both versions somehow seem to reflect on how Achilles' killers affect his characterization.[20] By excluding Paris, the Posthomeric version stresses Achilles' larger-than-life power even more. This also seems to be the initial reason for Apollo's descent to Troy: Achilles' incredible power can only be tempered by a more-than-human intervention. Hence, Apollo's actions both emphasize Achilles' enormous strength and bring it down.

Achilles' final moments further enhance his characterization as an unusually strong warrior. Unlike other heroes, he does not immediately drop dead

16 As discussed in section 1.2, Achilles' mortality is a key issue in Homer, who does not even mention a blessed afterlife for Achilles. Quintus, despite his strong adherence to Homer in the description of his actual death, will later on emphasize his deification (announced at the end of Book 3, and put into practice in Book 14: see Chapter 7).

17 See also Bär (2016, 223 n. 38) and Scheijnen (2016a, 188).

18 Boyten lists more parallels where the mortal accessory to a murder committed by a god is disdained, e.g. Patroclus' last words in *Iliad* 16.844–854 (2010, 97).

19 Ovid: text edition and translation by Miller & Goold [1916] 1984.

20 Most scholars agree that Achilles' Posthomeric death deviates from traditional attestations, and that his killer thus contributes to the heroic climax of his life's end. Apollo could even be considered his third opponent, grander and more divine than the two previous ones (Vian 1963 T1, 91–92 and Goţia 2008, 55). I would not go as far as Boyten, who suggests that Quintus rejects Paris to avoid a feminization of Achilles (2010, 97–98). Goţia goes to the other extreme by arguing that Achilles is taken down by the God of Light, because he is repeatedly called "the light of the Achaeans" himself (2008, 88). Bär suggests that, just as there is a lack of interaction among Quintus' gods, this scene may suggest limited interaction between humans and gods as well (2016, 223).

after being struck. In fact, he continues for more than a hundred verses, in a death-struggle of unprecedented proportions.[21] As the fatal arrow hits him, he falls down with a significant simile:

(…) ὃ δ’ ἀνετράπετ’ ἠΰτε πύργος,
ὅν τε βίῃ τυφῶνος ὑποχθονίῃ στροφάλιγγι
ῥήξῃ ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο κραδαινομένης βαθὺ γαίης·
ὣς ἐκλίθη δέμας ἠΰ κατ’ οὔδεος Αἰακίδαο
Q.S. 3.63–66

(…) [pain] toppled him, like a tower
That from the force of a subterranean vortex
Collapses on top of the deeply shaken earth;
So fell to the ground the handsome frame of Aeacus’ grandson.

This image stresses Achilles’ remarkable power in more than one way. First, the comparans of a collapsing tower, with its (possibly) implied impact when it hits the ground, is graphic. It is not the first and will not be the last time that Achilles’ physical size is stressed. Apart from its height, the image of the πύργος also has a double Homeric connotation, which now seems relevant to Achilles’ case in both ways: in several short Iliadic comparisons, the tower is either associated with dying warriors or a hero’s (shield’s) immovable strength on the battlefield.[22] The implications of this πύργος falling are multiple. Achilles was the strength of the Achaean army, which now disappears. On the other hand, πύργος is also regularly used to indicate the walls of a city.[23] The death of a hero is famously compared to the destruction of his city in Hector’s case in the *Iliad* (22.410–411). This clever inversion, where not the besieged but the besieger falls like a city, not only connects Achilles’ death to the *Iliad* once more, but also may imply that another condition for the Sack of Troy has now been met: both Hector and Achilles had to die before a decisive victory can be achieved. Finally,

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21 For a comparison of Achilles’ death to those of Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*, and those of Penthesilea, Memnon and Eurypylus in the *Posthomerica*, see Boyten (2010, 82–94). A schematic overview of these six scenes (ibid. 85–86) reveals the outstanding nature of Achilles’ death, which is far longer and makes considerable additions to the usual pattern.

22 For death images, see *Iliad* 4.462 (Echepolus falls down like a πύργος) and 12.386 (Epicles falls down like a diver from a πύργου). The tower as an immovable object is found in *Iliad* 7.219, 11.485, 17.128 (Ajax’s shield is like a πύργον), 15.618 (the Achaeans hold their ground πυργηδὸν). For further discussion, see Boyten (2010, 91–92).

23 I owe this idea to Calum Maciver.

and perhaps most obviously, Achilles' death simile receives extra meaning in light of an image in *Posthomerica* 2 (James 2004, 282):

> (…) Βάλε δ' ἄλλων πολλὰ κάρηνα·
> εὖτ' αἰγὶς μελάθροισιν ὑποχθονίη ἐπορούσῃ
> λάβρος, ἄφαρ δέ τε πάντα κατὰ χθονὸς ἀμφιχέηται
> ἐκ θεμέθλων, μάλα γάρ ῥα περιτρομέει βαθὺ γαῖα·
> ὣς οἵ γ' ἐν κονίῃσι κατήριπον ὠκέι πότμῳ
> αἰχμῇ Πηλείωνος· ὃ γὰρ μέγα μαίνετο θυμῷ.
> Q.S. 2.229–234

> (…) [The son of Peleus] struck down the heads of many others.
> As when buildings are struck by a violent subterranean
> Tempest; torn from its foundations everything falls
> To the ground, for the depths of the earth are thoroughly shaken;
> Likewise those men met a speedy death in the dust,
> Brought down by the spear of Peleus' son in his furious onslaught.

As Achilles is slaughtering Trojans in Book 2, he resembles a destructive earthquake taking down buildings, more specifically houses (μελάθροισιν). Book 3 picks up this image and reuses it in a stronger form, which results in an implicit statement about battlefield hierarchy: Achilles is able to ruin houses, but he himself can also be overtaken. He is more like a fortified tower than an ordinary house, though, which implies that the force required to take him down must be proportionately bigger. Whereas Achilles acted as that killing force for other mortals, Apollo is the only one able to overtake Achilles. Moreover, besides the similar image of the earthquake, which in itself is an original comparans (James 2004, 277), both Posthomeric passages are closely linked by the use of the adjective ὑποχθόνιος. This word does not occur in Homer and only twice in the *Posthomerica*, in both cited passages. Intriguingly, Hesiod uses it once in his *Works and Days*, in his description of the second human generation:

> (…) τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα
> Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, οὕνεκα τιμὰς
> οὐκ ἔδιδον μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν.
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
> τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,
> δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.
> *Works and Days* 137–142

> (…) Then Zeus, Cronus' son, concealed these in anger, because they did not give honors to the blessed gods who dwell on Olympus. But since the earth covered up this race too, they are called blessed mortals under the earth—in second place, but all the same honor attends upon these as well.

The only shortcoming of the Silver Race was that they did not honour the gods. Therefore, they were brought down under the earth. The reuse of this Hesiodic adjective for the Posthomeric Achilles may refer to the fact that the hero meets his death for similar reasons, namely because of his sacrilege.[24] If this is the case, the same intertextual reference also implies a reassurance: "But all the same honor attends upon these as well". The honour of Achilles after his death is a major theme throughout the epic, particularly in Book 14 (as is discussed below in Chapter 7). The first simile that illustrates Achilles' death therefore contributes to the hero's characterization in various ways.

After falling down, Achilles wrathfully reacts against the assault. He scorns the cowardice of his hidden attacker ("κρυφηδόν", Q.S. 3.68), for he knows that no other mortal ("οὔ τίς … ἐπιχθονίων[25] ἡρώων", Q.S. 3.72–73) could have defeated him face to face. He challenges his invisible foe with his own view on war: "Κρύβδα δ' ἀνάλκιδες αἰὲν ἀγαυοτέρους λοχόωσι" ("Stealth is a weakling's way to snare a better man", Q.S. 3.76).[26] Finally, he speculates as to who slew him:

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24 Achilles' afterlife, however, will not be "under ground", at least not infinitely, as Poseidon assures Thetis at the end of Book 3 (Q.S. 3.770–780).

25 Although the etymology of this word calls to mind ὑποχθόνιος (discussed above), ἐπιχθόνιος is more common in Homeric and later epics. Often related to words as βρότος or ἀνήρ, it is used to designate mortal men as opposed to gods, with the obvious connotation of "(men) upon the earth" (LSJ). Homer occasionally uses the word to express battle hierarchy, but Quintus is the only one in preserved literature (according to TLG) to link the word to ἥρως. He does so three times (Q.S. 1.577, 2.132 and 3.73), two of which related to Achilles and one to Memnon (see Chapter 2). There is a recurrent interrelation between ἐπιχθόνιος and ὑποχθόνιος in literature. This is likely initiated by Hesiod's *Works and Days*, where the afterlife of the Golden Generation is related to the protection of the ἐπιχθόνιοι (*Opera et Dies* 123). As a consequence, the Hesiodic *scholia vetera* (in *Works and Days* lines 141–142) see a connection between both adjectives when comparing the golden to the silver race. Later on, Porphyrius (*de philosophia ex oraculis* 118, in a passage quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.9.3) uses the two terms in interrelation. Quintus, however, does not seem to juxtapose the adjectives explicitly, although their occurrence within twenty lines from one another certainly draws attention.

26 Further discussion of the Aeacids' view on ambushes is in Chapter 5.

"(…) ἐπεὶ ἦ νύ μοι ἦτορ ἔολπεν
ἔμμεναι Ἀπόλλωνα λυγρῇ κεκαλυμμένον ὄρφνῃ.
Ὣς γάρ μοι τὸ πάροιθε φίλη διεπέφραδε μήτηρ
κείνου ὑπαὶ βελέεσσιν ὀιζυρῶς ἀπολέσθαι
Σκαιῇς ἀμφὶ πύλῃσι· τὸ δ’ οὐκ ἀνεμώλιον ἦεν."

Achilles: Q.S. 3.78–82

"(…);[27] I suspect in my heart
It is Apollo concealed in sinister darkness.
So my beloved mother once revealed to me
That by Apollo's arrows I'd die a miserable death
Close to the Scaean Gate, and they were no idle words."

With these words, Achilles refers to the same prophecy he mentioned in *Iliad* 21, when the river Scamander was about to drown him (Vian 1963 T1, 99 n. 3):

"ἀλλὰ φίλη μήτηρ, ἥ με ψεύδεσσιν ἔθελγεν·
ἥ μ’ ἔφατο Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ θωρηκτάων
λαιψηροῖς ὀλέεσθαι Ἀπόλλωνος βελέεσσιν."

Achilles: *Iliad* 21.276–278

"(…) but only my dear mother, who deceived me with false words, saying that beneath the wall of the mail-clad Trojans I should perish by the swift missiles of Apollo."

Achilles now enters into direct dialogue with this earlier assumption: it appears that his mother was right. This explicit confirmation also replies to the doubt that is raised in the *Iliad*. By confirming that Thetis' vision of the future was correct, the *Posthomerica* refutes two other Iliadic statements about Achilles' death, by Xanthus (*Iliad* 19.416–417) and Hector (22.359–360), who both included Paris as the second killer. Achilles' mother, not his horse nor his dying enemy, gave him the right prophecy. This speech thus seems to identify Thetis, through Achilles, as the most trustworthy foreteller of Achilles' fate in the *Iliad*.[28]

27 "ἐπεὶ ἦ νύ" is not translated by James, but suggests that Achilles only now comes to the realization of what has happened to him.

28 I do, therefore, not agree that Quintus' decision to choose the version that is attested in the *Iliad* only once would exemplify "his readiness to depart from Homeric authority" (James 2004, 281).

Instead of dying on the spot, which is the usual result of being struck by Apollo, the great hero pulls out the arrow and throws it away. The narrator follows the route of the divine missile, which Apollo recovers on his way back to Olympus, and the wounded Achilles is temporarily left behind. In a short digression, Hera voices her indignation about what has happened (Q.S. 3.84–138).[29] Just as during the major duel in Book 2, such a passage creates increasing suspense about the main event of the narrative, in this case Achilles dying on earth.[30] As focus shifts back to the son of Peleus, he engages in a final fight with the Trojans around him. They shun him as peasants shun a wounded lion that still has its fighting spirit (Q.S. 3.142–148). Somewhat later, his final words sound like the distant roar of a lion in the ears of fawns (Q.S. 3.170–175). Both images are clearly related, not only by the use of the lion comparans, but also by their shared focus on the Trojan anguish. Finally, each of the two similes has Iliadic precedents, from which they now deviate to better fit the new narrative situation. Wounded lions occur in *Iliad* 16.751–754 (Patroclus attacks like a lion who is struck while ravaging the stables) and 20.164–173 (Achilles is a lion who gets hurt, but still leaps on his foe with fury). A confrontation between young deer[31] and a lion takes place in *Iliad* 11.113–121.[32] In contrast to these three Iliadic images, however, there is no physical contact between the lion and its prey in the two Posthomeric lion similes. Homer never focuses on the sound of a lion (Spinoula 2008, 19–20),[33] but in *Argonautica* 4.1337–1343, Jason calls out like a roaring lion, scaring shepherds and sheep. It is specified, however, that Jason's comrades are not scared in that situation, for they know their friend. The Posthomeric comparandum, on the other hand, is rather frightening, and with good reason: between both lion similes, Achilles kills three more Trojans "and many others" in gruesome ways (Q.S. 3.149–163). The similes are well chosen and adapted to illustrate the narrative: Achilles may be dying, but he is still deadly dangerous. The absence of contact between lion and prey in both images even suggests that he is too dangerous to approach.

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29 Hadjicosti discusses four passages in Greek and Latin literature, including this speech in Quintus, where Apollo's presence at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is problematized, as he will later become Achilles' killer (2006).

30 See also Boyten (2010, 89).

31 With the words ἐλάφοιο νήπια τέκνα (*Iliad* 11.113) instead of νέβροι (Q.S. 3.171). Frightened νέβροι flee from Achilles (no predator specified) in *Iliad* 22.1–2 (Vian 1963 T1, 102 n. 4).

32 See also Vian (1963 T1, 101 n. 2) and James (2004, 283).

33 Instead, Mansur links Achilles' roar to the bellowing shout with which he sent the Trojans fleeing from Patroclus' body in *Iliad* 18.217–223 (1940, 5).

Even the lion's power finally wears out, and this time, Achilles falls down 'for real', like a mountain (Q.S. 3.177). Like the simile of the collapsing tower above, this image stresses Achilles' formidable appearance (Boyten 2010, 92). The impact of the comparans is clarified when compared to other similes of the same kind. In *Posthomerica* 8, Achilles' son Neoptolemus is depicted as an immovable mountain three times, indicating the incredible resilience of the young hero.[34] The mountain as such is not used as an image of strength in the *Iliad*, but its appearance in the *Posthomerica* is unmistakably linked to the biggest of heroes. The death simile in Book 3 takes this image one step further: a collapsing mountain is a nearly unimaginable concept. If anything, a mountain can only be brought down by the strongest of powers: those of a god. In *Posthomerica* 12.185–188, the gods tear off pieces of Mount Ida and throw them at each other during their *theomachy*. In 14.580–581, Poseidon throws a mountain onto Ajax Minor to destroy him. Gods appear to be the only ones able to move mountains, and they must do it to kill some of the biggest heroes. Metaphorically, this is also what has happened to Achilles. That he should be counted among the greatest is emphasized even after his death. His corpse still frightens the Trojans: they tremble like sheep before a wild animal that has been killed by men (Q.S. 3.181–185). This third image brings the two previous lion similes to a climax. Whereas the Trojans then still feared Achilles "supposing him unwounded still" (Q.S. 3.175), they hesitate even now to approach his dead body.

Book 3 thus characterizes Achilles as an extraordinary champion, even among other heroes. Given the clear links to the *Iliad*, which strengthen this image, the question has often been raised how the continuity between the Iliadic and the Posthomeric character of Achilles should be understood. Mansur finds that Achilles' untimely death sadly denies him the part he deserves.[35] He concludes that, despite an exaggeration of the hero's prowess, "Achilles is the same person whom we know from Homer" (1940, 4–7; p. 7 for the citation). More recently, however, Boyten's chapter on Achilles' characterization (2010, Chapter 11) finds the Posthomeric Achilles more violent and predominantly

34 Q.S. 8.167–170 (a rock in the mountains, unmoved by storm), 197–198 (Eurypylus and Neoptolemus do not give way to each other, as two mountain peaks) and 338–340 (again, a mountain peak unmoved by storm). This also implicitly links Neoptolemus to his father, which is a motif throughout the entire *Posthomerica* (see Chapter 4).

35 Boyten, on the other hand, points out that Achilles' spirit remains prominent, even after his death. That this also should imply that Achilles is the "signifier of the epic", that he "represents ancient epic and is *the* 'model' hero" (2010, 138), may be too general a statement, but certainly deserves further reflection in the following chapters.

bellicose, with some psychological depth but less than in the *Iliad* (2010, 137–138). Boyten assumes the distinction between the Iliadic—more balanced—and the Posthomeric—more rude—Achilles as a basic principle of his characterization study of both Achilles and Neoptolemus (2010, 235–237). Whereas it is undeniable that the *Posthomerica* does not quite present the same Achilles as the *Iliad*, I am not inclined to see this as a sharp dichotomy, but rather as an inevitable evolution of events within the chronology of the Trojan myth. All in all, Achilles' characterization in the *Posthomerica*, and particularly in Book 3, has a clear focus on his rigorous, even harsh side. I do not believe, however, that this should be interpreted as merely an unbalanced imitation or an exaggeration of Homer. After all, the Iliadic Achilles is far from a static character himself. Schein clearly illustrates this by treating the hero's Iliadic characterization in two chapters, aptly entitled "Achilles: One" (1984, 89 ff.) and "Achilles: Two" (ibid. 128 ff.). He distinguishes between periods *before* and *after* Achilles has learned about Patroclus' death (*Iliad* 18.18–21). In the last seven books of the *Iliad*, Achilles is represented as larger and more savage than before. Even if he is re-established to his *philotes* in his meeting with Priam (Schein 1984, 162), Achilles is never seen fighting in the *Iliad* afterwards. It falls to Quintus to make Achilles return to battle after the death of Hector. For this, the *Posthomerica* falls back on what I would call a 'post-Patroclean' Achilles, whose larger-than-life battle characterization throughout the first three books still resounds with his major loss. Patroclus has irrevocably determined Achilles' future and fate, even after the latter's revenge on Hector has been completed in *Iliad* 24.

With his last breath, Achilles threatened the Trojans: even after his death, they will not escape his spear (Q.S. 3.167–169). His foes have good reason to heed this warning, for the fearful weapon will indeed be passed on to Achilles' heir, along with the rest of his armour. Although Achilles does not name a successor, his prediction calls to mind a prophecy in Hera's scornful speech to Apollo earlier in Book 3: "I don't think the Trojans' labor will be lighter for the fall of Aeacus' grandson, because his son shall very soon come from Scyrus to help the Argives in this harsh and bitter conflict, in his strength his father's equal, bringing disaster to many a foe" (Q.S. 3.118–122). This is the first reference to Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*, and it comes before Achilles has even properly died.[36] The next two books of the *Posthomerica*, however, prove Achilles' inheritance to be far more complex than what Hera has predicted. Neoptolemus does not arrive before Book 7, and is therefore not the first to lay claim to his father's

36 This and other prophecies in Book 3 also enhance the narrative cohesion of the entire epic (Vian 1963 T1, 88); more on the anticipations to Neoptolemus' arrival in Chapter 4.

succession. Two books are needed to sort out the first round of what becomes a true succession battle. At the end of Achilles' life, at least one thing has become clear: whoever aims to succeed him has to be a formidable candidate.

3.2 Ajax: Achilleic Power

Upon Achilles' death, Paris is the first Trojan to take courage again. He rouses his compatriots to capture the body, thus taking a prominent place in Achilles' death scene after all. From his speech, it is clear that he envisages a revenge similar to that Achilles inflicted upon his brother (Vian 1963 T1, 103 n. 1 and 2): they will drag the body to Troy with Hector's mourning horses, which now carry Paris himself, in honour of both Hector and his steeds (Q.S. 3.193–198). The Trojan women will then want to take their revenge (Q.S. 3.200–205), and finally Achilles' body will be left for the birds (Q.S. 3.210–211). Achilles clearly faces retribution for Hector, and Paris, determined to either die or succeed (Q.S. 3.191–193), is eager to give it to him. Paris has expressed his stance in this war once before, during the assembly in Book 2, where it also became clear that he would rather die than lose Helen (see section 2.2). Although he was not fit to be the new Trojan champion back then, his opening the fight around Achilles' body at least acknowledges the part he traditionally played in the hero's death.

The most famous battle around a body, from which this new fight could draw inspiration, is that around Patroclus' in *Iliad* 17. Even if the Posthomeric situation proves less complex, several motifs indeed recur, some of which Paris has already evoked. First, the start of the fight in the *Iliad* was less straightforward: Hector himself needed to be stirred by Glaucus (*Iliad* 17.140 ff.). Achilles' armour, however, was quickly removed from Patroclus' body (*Iliad* 17.125) and even worn by Hector during the greater part of the fight (17.184 ff.). When Hector finally attacked 'for real', his exhortation speech contained some elements that Paris now seems to echo (James 2004, 283): Hector also encouraged his men to either die or succeed (*Iliad* 17.227–228) and specified that winning the body would bring him honour (*Iliad* 17.229–232). Later on in the fight, Hector even aimed to capture the horses of Achilles (17.483 ff.). Even though the situation in the *Posthomerica* is different, the conflict between Achilles and Hector, their mutual attempts to obtain honour from one another and the desire to avenge Iliadic wrongs dominate the beginning of the new Posthomeric battle like a ghost from the past. Additionally, the players involved are chosen and staged to enter into dialogue with the Homeric precedent. In Q.S. 3.213–214, Glaucus, Aeneas and Agenor are the first ones to overcome their fear and charge. Both Glaucus (*Iliad* 17.140 ff.) and Aeneas (*Iliad* 17.323 ff.) play a prominent role at

some point in the fight around Patroclus' body, both in advising Hector. James also remarks that all three heroes are mentioned when the battle for the corpse of Sarpedon begins in *Iliad* 16.530–536 (2004, 283). In Quintus, however, the three do not stand out among other heroes. In *Posthomerica* 3, the central place is reserved for Ajax Major.

3.2.1 *Next to Achilles: Homer and* Posthomerica *1*

Ajax is the first and foremost Achaean warrior to respond to Paris' threat (Q.S. 3.217). Appropriately calling him Αἰακίδην Αἴαντα (Q.S. 3.244) not long after his appearance, the narrator explicitly adopts the tradition in which Telamon and Peleus are both kin to Aeacus.[37] Of the 48 occurrences of the patronym Αἰακίδης in the *Posthomerica*, the word is used for Ajax only this once (Vian & Battegay 1984, 16). At this iconic place in the text, the epithet is then easily interpreted as a means to characterize Ajax: he explicitly follows in Achilles' footsteps to defend his body. For several reasons other than their kinship, this need not surprise.

In Homer, Ajax has repeatedly been called "(one of those) second to only Achilles", both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and thus chronologically before and after his shameful death. Moreover, one of these instances occurs in *Iliad* 17.279–280, where Ajax appears as one of the important players in the defence of Patroclus' body.[38] In the battle of *Iliad* 17, however, his position was not nearly as prominent as it will be in *Posthomerica* 3. Ajax may have been the first to stand over Patroclus' body to protect it (*Iliad* 17.128), but Menelaus had called him to help first (17.115 ff.). Throughout that fight, Ajax was most often assisted by other heroes and at some point even lost courage himself (17.238 ff.). In the *Posthomerica*, Ajax's character is more prominent and straightforward. Mansur even concludes that the Iliadic Ajax, "though brave as a lion, is slow-witted as an ass" (1940, 13) and that "Quintus has made a fine character of Ajax, who is ennobled and more heroic than in Homer. Ajax here wins as much sympathy because his splendid qualities go unappreciated as he does in Homer for his ass-like pertinacity" (ibid. 15). Mansur (supported by James & Lee 2000, 13–15) also states that with his improved intelligence, the Posthomeric Ajax has

37 Homer does not mention such kinship, but Apollonius does (*Argonautica* 1.90–94). For the different traditions about the lineage of Telamon, see Vian (1963 T1, 31 n. 3) and Calero Secall (1998a, 79).

38 This exact same phrase occurs in *Odyssey* 11.550–551. Ajax is likewise described by both characters and the narrator, in *Iliad* 2.768–769, *Iliad* 7.226–228 (Ajax boasts to Hector) and *Odyssey* 11.469–470 = *Odyssey* 24.17–18. As Odysseus tries to make Ajax forget his wrath in the Underworld, he says that the Achaeans mourn his death as much as Achilles' (*Odyssey* 11.556–558; see also Boyten 2010, 123 n. 438).

lost his Homeric uniqueness. Against this, and in line with more recent scholarship, I argue that, rather than being flattened into one more monotonous and idealized character, Ajax's characterization in the *Posthomerica* is specifically altered to better assimilate to Achilles.[39] In fact, he is strongly associated with Achilles from the beginning.[40]

Before his appearance in Book 3, Ajax has featured in only one passage in the *Posthomerica*. In spirit, though, he has been more prominent. As discussed in Chapter 2, Penthesilea in Book 1 had challenged those who were "famed as the Achaean's best", namely Diomedes, Achilles and Ajax (Q.S. 1.331–332). Somewhat later, the narrator had confirmed that battle would not be decided as long as Achilles and Ajax, without Diomedes this time,[41] remained absent (Q.S. 1.374–384). Ajax himself seemed aware of that. Actually, his first performance in the *Posthomerica*, not much later, consisted of convincing Achilles of the importance of their contribution to the fight against Penthesilea:

> "νῶιν δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐλεγχείη ἀλεγεινὴ
> ἔσσεται. Οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε Διὸς μεγάλοιο γεγῶτας
> αἰσχύνειν πατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, οἵ ῥα καὶ αὐτοὶ
> Τροίης ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ διέπραθον ἐγχείῃσι
> τὸ πρὶν ἅμ' Ἡρακλῆι δαΐφρονι, Λαομέδοντος"
>
> Ajax: Q.S. 1.501–505

> "That would be a bitter reproach for both of us.
> As great Zeus's offspring it is not fitting for us
> To bring disgrace on the sacred stock of our fathers,
> The same whose spears laid waste the splendid city of Troy,
> Before with warlike Heracles … of Laomedon."

In line with the expectations voiced by Penthesilea and the narrator before, the reader thus found Ajax by Achilles' side the first time they both appeared in the *Posthomerica*. His speech even strengthened the bond between both heroes:

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39 However, I would indeed not call the Posthomeric Ajax particularly clever. More about this in section 3.3.

40 The characterization of Ajax as an *Achilles novus* has recurrently been investigated: see *inter alia* Vian (1963 T1, 9: general similarities), Boyten (2010, 123–125: idem), Calero Secall (1998a, 78–81: literary sources), Goţia (2008, 94: light imagery) and Maciver (2012a, 607–615: in relation to the judgment of arms).

41 Despite occasionally showing up as one of the biggest heroes, Diomedes tends mostly to stay in the background throughout the *Posthomerica*. See section 3.2.2 for further discussion.

they must not shame their common ancestors, who have left great heroic legacies of their own. Ajax uses the argument of common ancestry, with clear reference to Homeric ideology (Maciver 2012b, 96–97). As mentioned before, it is remarkable that, unlike Homer, Quintus makes the kinship between both heroes explicit. Even rarer is the tradition in which both Telamon and Peleus took part in Heracles' earlier conquest of Troy (Vian 1963 T1, 9).

In the next moment, Achilles and Ajax rushed to the battlefield together, as a fearsome heroic duo. The similes, comparisons and dual forms used to strengthen the relationship and perhaps even begin assimilation of the two heroes in this passage were also mentioned in section 2.1.2. Significantly, they were called the Αἰακίδαι (Q.S. 1.521). As one of the only two Posthomeric occurrences of this patronym in the plural form, this is the only one referring to Achilles and Ajax as a duo.[42] Again, this remarkable word choice was found at the beginning of an iconic scene, namely the only short battle in which both heroes fought side by side. Even if Ajax left the picture soon afterwards, and without actually taking part in the fight against Penthesilea (see section 2.1.2.), he was not soon forgotten. Remarkably, Achilles referenced him twice when he sneered that Penthesilea had underestimated her opponents, plural. In his speeches both before and after killing Penthesilea, Achilles called her opponents the φέρτατοί ἡρώων (Q.S. 1.577–579 and Q.S. 1.649–650). It seems only plausible to interpret the implied but unnamed other hero as Ajax, as Vian would also suggest (1963 T1, 9 and 37 n. 4). Ajax's status as a hero worthy of Achilles is thus consolidated in their joint characterization throughout Book 1. After this first short appearance, however, Ajax has stayed out of view until the beginning of Book 3. It should be noted that thus far, he has not performed any battle actions worth mentioning. Instead, these earlier mentions in *Posthomerica* 1 have re-established and reinforced his heroic reputation, well-known from the *Iliad*, as a prelude to his real *aristeia* in Book 3 (Vian 1963 T1, 9).[43] Everyone seems to recall that he is worthy of Achilles. Now, he must prove it.

3.2.2 *Over Achilles:* Posthomerica *3*

As soon as Ajax appears in Book 3, he stands over Achilles' body to ward off the Trojans (Q.S. 3.217). Not much later, he faces his first significant opponent in Glaucus (Q.S. 3.243–244). This moment could be interpreted as the proper start

42 The other plural usage (Q.S. 7.291) occurs when Neoptolemus expresses his desire to perform deeds "worthy of the Aeacids" (see section 4.2.1.1).

43 See also Combellack (1986, 13), who particularly appreciates Ajax as "Quintus' most splendid character". As such, his introduction in Book 1 is strongly appreciated.

of his Achilles-like characterization. Ajax, introduced as Αἰακίδην (see above: Q.S. 3.244), is challenged by a "foolish" Glaucus (ἄφρονι θυμῷ, Q.S. 3.245):

> "Αἶαν, ἐπεί νύ σέ φασι μέγ' ἔξοχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων
> Ἀργείων, σοὶ δ' αἰὲν ἐπιφρονέουσι μάλιστα
> ἄσπετον, ὡς Ἀχιλῆι δαΐφρονι, τῷ σε θανόντι
> οἴω συνθανέεσθαι ἐπ' ἤματι τῷδε καὶ αὐτόν."
>
> Glaucus: Q.S. 3.246–249

> "Ajax, since men claim that you are far the best
> Of all the Argives and they are exceedingly proud of you,
> No less than of brave Achilles, now that he is dead
> You too will join him in death this very day, I reckon."

Ironically, Glaucus' fate lies hidden in his own words: by acknowledging that Ajax is equal to Achilles, he confirms the former's superiority even before they cross weapons. In many ways, this confrontation reminds the reader of Penthesilea's attempt against Achilles in Book 1. Glaucus dwells on the same public opinion of the vigour of his opponent, which he plans to overcome (compare Penthesilea's first challenge in Q.S. 1.331–334). Again, the narrator is quick to condemn this insolence. This happens both before and immediately after the short speech: "He [Glaucus] did not know the greater worth of the man at whom he aimed his spear" (Q.S. 3.250–251). Similar ignorance was denounced by the narrator in Book 1, after the hopeful Trojan τις-speech about Penthesilea.[44] Ajax's response also echoes some of Achilles' arguments in *Posthomerica* 1. First, he brings up Hector as an example of someone superior to Glaucus, but who still hesitated to confront Ajax (or in Book 1, Achilles: compare to the words of Andromache, Q.S. 1.105–107, and Achilles, Q.S. 1.579–581). It is remarkable that Ajax still uses the plural form in this sentence: μένος δ' ἀλέεινε καὶ ἔγχος | ἡμέτερον (Q.S. 3.254–255). Although Way, Vian and James unanimously translate this as "my [Ajax's] spear", it is my assumption that ἡμέτερον is not used without a double meaning. Even if the rest of the sentence suggests that Ajax refers to previous situations in which Hector unsuccessfully confronted him, and him alone,[45] this majestic plural also echoes the plural

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44 Compare: "The fool was not aware of grievous woes approaching, woes for him, for Troy, and for Penthesilea herself" (Q.S. 1.374–375).

45 Vian thinks of *Iliad* 7.206–312, 14.402–432 and 17.129 ff. (1963 T1, 105 n. 5). James adds the passage in *Iliad* 11.542, where Hector is explicitly said to avoid Ajax (ἀλέεινε, in the exact same form as in Q.S. 3.254).

that Achilles repeatedly used for the two of them in *Posthomerica* 1 (e.g. Q.S. 1.577 and 649–650). After all, Hector also fled Achilles' spear in the *Iliad*, before bravely facing it in Book 22. Further, Ajax calls Glaucus out of his mind to challenge him (Q.S. 3.255–257), just as any confrontation with Achilles was called unwise in Book 1.[46] Hence, Ajax's speech immediately evokes the tone of provocation used in *Posthomerica* 1: for Glaucus, the odds are equally uneven. Besides that, Ajax also explicitly recalls the *Iliad*: he will not be thwarted as easily as Diomedes was in the same situation (Q.S. 3.258–262). Ajax here obviously refers to the Iliadic encounter in which Glaucus and Diomedes rediscovered their old guest-friendship and interrupted their fight (*Iliad* 6.119–236: Vian 1963 T1, 106 n. 1).[47] Within the Achaean warrior hierarchy, which according to Penthesilea had three names on top (see also section 3.2.1), Ajax now aims to outdo Diomedes, as one of his closest rivals. He may well be successful too. Diomedes, despite taking part in some significant events in the *Posthomerica* and definitely proving his worth, seems to remain a rather second-class hero in the shadow of the other great champions. He appears, for example, when he briefly opposes Achilles after Thersites' murder (see the excursus to section 2.1.3), and in the funeral games of Achilles, where his only contest against Ajax ends in a draw (section 3.2.3). Further, he most explicitly resurfaces in the assembly of Book 6 (section 4.1.1), upon the arrival of Neoptolemus in Troy in Book 7 (section 4.2.2) and during his killing of Ilioneus (section 6.2.1). Never, however, does he stand completely alone as the one and only prominent hero. This rather secondary position contrasts sharply with the *Iliad*, where Ajax Major does not tower over Diomedes—quite the reverse on some occasions (Calero Secall 1998a, 78 n. 1 following Van der Valk 1952). Mansur even calls him "the most outspoken of the heroes (next to Achilles)" in Homer, a glamorous position which the hero loses in Quintus, as he does not even receive a proper battle *aristeia* (1940, 16–19). In the end, Diomedes is one of the few ἥρωες that survive the *Posthomerica* (besides Odysseus, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes). Quintus does not deny Diomedes his worth, but does not particularly highlight it either. Combellack finds that his Iliadic role of the "young hero of a unique splendor" is taken over by Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica* (1986, 12). For now, however, it is Ajax who implicitly claims the highest place, over Diomedes.[48] He

46 For Achilles, stronger terminology was used: compare Ajax's "Σοὶ δ' ἤτοι νόος ἐστὶ ποτὶ ζόφον" ("Your thoughts are clearly of death and darkness", Q.S. 3.256) to Andromache (Q.S. 1.103–104) and Achilles (Q.S. 1.582–584), who used the verb μαίνομαι.

47 Boyten also links this idea of "not escaping for the second time" to Achilles' threat to Lycaon in *Iliad* 21 (2010, 123–124).

48 This is consolidated during the funeral games of Achilles in Book 4 (section 3.2.3).

finishes his speech to Glaucus with a simile: he will crush the Trojans around Achilles' body like flies (Q.S. 3.263–266). The fly comparans also occurs in *Iliad* 16.641–644 (Patroclus over Sarpedon's body: Vian 1963 T1, 106 n. 2 and James 2004, 284), and Athena gives Menelaus the daring of a persisting fly to protect Patroclus' own corpse (*Iliad* 17.570–573).[49] Ajax is clearly willing to enter into dialogue with these previous situations and act in a way worthy of the *Iliad* and of Achilles in order to defend his friend's body.

As Ajax subsequently charges the Trojans, a quick succession of images illustrates the fight.[50] The first one depicts the situation as a confrontation between lions and hunting dogs (Q.S. 3.267–268). This short comparison does not mention any other details about the context of the comparans. The confrontation of hunter and predator is common in extended similes in the *Iliad*. For example, lions and hunters and/or dogs face each other in *Iliad* 11.548–557 (lion Ajax is chased away from the Trojans by Zeus), 13.198–202 (the Aiantes, both lions, snatch away Imbrius' body), 17.109–113 and 17.657–667 (both with a similar comparandum: lion Menelaus is chased away from Patroclus' body). Hence, a lion being chased away by humans and dogs is often related to the battle around a corpse, not only in the *Iliad*, but also previously in the *Posthomerica*.[51] However, in three out of four Iliadic cases, two of which two apply to Patroclus' death, the lion loses. In contrast, the outcome of Ajax's fight in *Posthomerica* 3 is not yet known and promises to turn out better. The next comparison illustrating how the Trojans experience their encounter with Ajax is much in line with these expectations:

(…) Περιτρομέοντο δὲ λαοί,
ἰχθύες ὣς ἀνὰ πόντον ἐπερχομένου ἀλεγεινοῦ
κήτεος ἢ δελφῖνος ἁλιτρεφέος μεγάλοιο·
ὣς Τρῶες φοβέοντο βίην Τελαμωνιάδαο
αἰὲν ἐπεσσυμένοιο κατὰ κλόνον.

Q.S. 3.270–274

49 Throughout the *Posthomerica*, the comparans of the fly is typically used for the Trojans in the position of victims (Spinoula 2008, 149–150). See also Maciver (2012b, 173–182; for this simile also Kauffman forthcoming).

50 Spinoula notes that Ajax is not the central figure in any of the extended similes during his *aristeia*. The imagery mainly focuses on his victims and thus emphasizes the inflicted destruction rather than the destructor (2008, 50–51).

51 The third Iliadic image has also been echoed in a speech by Nestor, as he illustrated his powerlessness over Antilochus' body in *Posthomerica* 2.330–337. Moreover, Memnon is carried off to his homeland like a hunter killed by a lion (Q.S. 2.575–582; see also section 2.3.3).

> (…) Those [Trojans] round him [Ajax] trembled with fear,
> Just like a shoal of fish in the ocean at the attack
> Of a terrible whale or mighty dolphin of the sea.
> So shrank the Trojans before the might of Telamon's son
> Attacking them time and again in battle.

This image has a clear precedent in Achilles' furious *aristeia* in *Iliad* 21 (James 2004, 284):

> ὣς δ' ὑπὸ δελφῖνος μεγακήτεος ἰχθύες ἄλλοι
> φεύγοντες πιμπλᾶσι μυχοὺς λιμένος εὐόρμου
> δειδιότες· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὅν κε λάβῃσιν·
> ὣς Τρῶες ποταμοῖο κατὰ δεινοῖο ῥέεθρα
> πτῶσσον ὑπὸ κρημνούς.
>
> *Iliad* 21.22–26

> And as before a monstrous dolphin other fishes flee and fill the recesses of some harbor or fair anchorage in their terror, for greedily does he devour any he catches, so cowered the Trojans in the streams of the dread river beneath the steep banks.

Not only do both images display obviously similar features, such as the disambiguation of κήτεος ἢ δελφῖνος (Q.S. 3.272) that echoes the epithet μεγακήτεος (used for the dolphin in *Iliad* 21.22),[52] they also occur in similar contexts: twice, the comparans is a horde of panicking Trojans trying to escape the fury of a seemingly invincible hero. While Achilles in the *Iliad* was mad with grief for Patroclus, Ajax is now distressed by the loss of Achilles, and in fact Ajax seems to take over Achilles' role.

Although dead, the son of Peleus is still characterized in this fight. As Ajax leads the fight, focus shifts to the corpse on the ground: Trojans fall around his body like swine around a lion (Q.S. 3.276). The lion comparans which forms the centre of this image calls to mind Achilles and the way he died like a lion about a hundred verses earlier.[53] Glaucus is struck by Ajax soon afterwards.

52 Further discussion of fish similes and the use of epithets by Spinoula (2008, 91–96).

53 Although Spinoula assumes that the comparandum for this comparison is Ajax (2008, 30; James 2004, 284 seems to follow the same course), the Greek text (and particularly the repetition of ἀμφί) instead seems to confirm Vian's interpretation that the lion image refers to Achilles (1963 T1, 106 n. 4): ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρὸν Ἀχιλλέος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι | μυρίοι ἐν κονίῃσιν, ὅπως σύες ἀμφὶ λέοντα, | κτείνοντ' ("On every side of Achilles' body numberless men lay dead

Dead, he falls down to lie next to Achilles, like a bush next to an oak (Q.S. 3.280–282). Although 'vegetative images' (images with trees and plants as comparantia) are quite common depictions of dying warriors in both the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*,[54] this comparison deviates from the usual pattern in multiple ways. In his death, Achilles is compared to a tree only once. The chosen comparans stands out among other death similes in the *Posthomerica*: evidently, the oak is a conventional image of strength and vigour throughout the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*.[55] However, this is the only occurrence of this particular tree in a Posthomeric death simile. Moreover, it is unconventional that a death comparans incorporates a hierarchy between two corpses. Here, the 'actual' comparandum is Glaucus, but in the end, it is Achilles' greatness that draws the attention as a 'normal' mortal falls besides him.

The fight continues, with Ajax wounding Aeneas (Q.S. 3.282–289) and a brief shift of focus to another Achaean hero on the battlefield, Odysseus, which is discussed at more length in section 3.3 (Q.S. 3.296–321). Ajax comes back into the picture as he deals with Paris: hurling a rock, he prevents the Trojan prince from shooting an arrow at him. Comrades need to save Paris and his armour. Vian convincingly points at the irony in this scene, compared to Paris' intentions earlier in Book 3: instead of abducting Achilles' body, Hector's horses have to bring back their wounded new master (1963 T1, 109 n. 2).[56] Moreover, the mention of the bow as the onset of the attack may remind the reader of the remarkable absence of Paris in Achilles' murder. The prince's first and only attempt to shoot someone in *Posthomerica* 3 ends with his own defeat. Hence,

in the dust like so many boars around a lion", Q.S. 3.275–277). As Spinoula herself states only lines above, on the same page of her study: Achilles, unlike other heroes thus far, has actually died "as a lion" (2008, 30). Admittedly, if the interpretation of this comparison is somewhat ambiguous, this only strengthens the assimilation of the characterizations of Achilles and Ajax in Book 3.

54 On death similes, see Scheijnen 2017.

55 For example, the oak comparans is used in three death similes in the *Iliad*, for Asius (13.389–393), Sarpedon (16.482–486) and for Hector's 'almost death' simile (14.414–418). In *Iliad* 12.132–136 (not a death simile), the oak is used to depict two firm warriors who will not give way (see also James 2004, 284).

56 Vian has identified multiple Iliadic reminiscences in this scene, all of them involving an important Trojan escaping death in battle (1963 T1, 109 n. 3): Teucer's bow breaks before he can hit Hector (*Iliad* 8.322–329), Diomedes strikes Aeneas with a rock and a god has to save him (*Iliad* 5.302–310), Ajax strikes Hector with a rock, nearly killing him (*Iliad* 14.409–432), a wounded Deiphobus is brought back to the city by his horses (*Iliad* 13.533–539) and Achilles fights against the empty air as Hector is snatched away by Apollo (*Iliad* 20.448–454). James finds the closest parallel in *Iliad* 14, where Hector likewise escapes an assault by Ajax (2004, 284). With this final intertextual reference in mind, Paris ironically proves himself a new Hector in *Posthomerica* 3, albeit not in the way he had hoped for.

Paris is unmistakably proven a hero of too little worth to face the great Aeacids. Moreover, Ajax is again assimilated with Achilles, this time as a possible target of Paris' bow.

Finally, the Trojans scatter like vultures before an eagle (Q.S. 3.353–357) and starlings before a hawk (Q.S. 3.358–364). These two successive images feature similar situations: frightened birds are scattered by a larger bird of prey. These are the first such similes in the *Posthomerica*. Spinoula has noted that the comparans of the bird of prey is specifically connected to Ajax throughout the epic. In particular, the comparans of the eagle, remarkably called the οἰωνῶν προφερέστατος (Q.S. 3.354), is significant for his characterization (see also section 3.3). Thus far, this pair of similes has somewhat puzzled scholarship, as regards Homeric intertextuality: although the comparantia are not new to Homer, few clearly related passages can be found for the four kinds of birds mentioned in Quintus' two similes.[57] In Homer, the eagle (αἰετός) is known for its sharp eye and swiftness.[58] When the tertium comparationis is an actual attack, the focus lies mainly on the attacking hero (for comparative tables, see Spinoula 2008, 164–168).[59] The vulture in Homer (always αἰγυπτιός) is more unambiguously connected to battle, but never opposed to an eagle.[60] Hence, the Posthomeric image has brought together two separate birds of prey, both fearsome in Homeric examples, into a clear hierarchy: the eagle exceeds all others. Moreover, vultures are scavengers, an implication that could be particularly relevant for Quintus' case, where the attacking Trojans are actually striving for control of Achilles' body. Furthermore, the hawk (κίρκος) can similarly illustrate swiftness or an attack,[61] but most often, the hawk (as a predator) is explic-

57 Out of a large number of possibilities, Vian only names *Iliad* 21.252 (Achilles has the swiftness of an eagle) and the vulture in general (1963 T1, 109 n. 4 and 5). More relevantly, James singles out *Iliad* 17.755–757 (2004, 284).

58 Sharp eye: *Iliad* 17.674–681 (Menelaus looks for Nestor). Swiftness: *Iliad* 13.821 (Hector's horses) and 21.252–255 (Achilles). In these cases, superlatives can be attributed to the bird (*Iliad* 17.675: ὀξύτατον … ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν, and 21.253: κάρτιστός τε καὶ ὤκιστος πετεηνῶν).

59 *Iliad* 15.690–694 and 22.308–311 (both Hector), and *Odyssey* 24.538 (Odysseus). Especially in the *Iliad*, the eagle is often used as a comparans for Hector. Similarly, to a more coherent extent, the same happens for Ajax in the *Posthomerica*.

60 *Iliad* 13.531 (Meriones attacks), 16.428–430 (Sarpedon and Patroclus fight) and 17.460 (Automedon charges). In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, Telemachus and their companions charge the suitors like vultures (22.302–308), but not before father and son have embraced each other, wailing like sea-eagles or vultures (16.216–219). Even if this last image is not related to the fight, it does provide a necessary precursor: Odysseus and Telemachus could not lead the fight if they were not reunited first.

61 However, this happens more frequently in Apollonius than in Homer (and never in the

itly engaged in the pursuit of other, fleeing birds. As such, the image occurs in *Iliad* 22.139–144 (Hector barely escapes Achilles) and *Argonautica* 1.1049–1050 (the Doliones flee from the Argonauts), but also, and most importantly, in *Iliad* 17.755–759 (Achaeans flee from Hector). The latter image is the only precedent in which the fleeing birds are sparrows, as in *Posthomerica* 3.[62] Altogether, the Posthomeric pair of similes obviously dwells on well-known epic, mainly Homeric, comparantia, but reassembles them into an image with new significance. By opposing vultures with the eagle, the Posthomeric simile establishes a clear hierarchy among birds of prey, and in addition quite aptly applies the implication of scavengers to the Trojans. Moreover, Homer's attacking vultures have become the attacked animal in Quintus' adaptation. This switch of the vulture from strong to cowering bird is underlined by the second simile, in which the 'gap' between bird of prey and victim in the food chain is larger.[63] As such, Ajax clearly surpasses his victims. At the end of the battle around Achilles, he clearly stands out as the victorious hero. He would have killed them all, had they not fled back to the city. Ajax chases back the surviving Trojans like a herdsman driving sheep (Q.S. 3.369–370).[64] The day ends with piles of dead, but Achilles' body is saved (Q.S. 3.370–386). The rest of *Posthomerica* 3 is dedicated to his funeral and mourning. I will not enter into detail about the rites in honour of Achilles. Parts of this long episode are discussed below in section 3.3. For now, it suffices draw attention to a few significant observations about Achilles and Ajax that are made in various passages throughout the rest of Book 3.

Iliad). Swiftness: *Odyssey* 13.86–88 and *Argonautica* 2.932–935. Focus on the attacker: *Argonautica* 4.485–486.

62 In Homer, sparrows occur in only one more simile, where they flee from an ἴρηκι. This image illustrates Lycians running away from Patroclus, who is vexed by Epeigeus' death (*Iliad* 16.582–584).

63 Spinoula notes that bird imagery in the *Posthomerica* tends to focus on the victim (2008, 167–168). She identifies a link between the vultures simile and the comparison of the flies in Ajax's threat earlier on (Q.S. 3.264; Spinoula ibid. 149–150).

64 The sheep comparans is, of course, not uncommon and often associated with victims of war. In the *Posthomerica*, this happens with an intriguing consistency. This image in Book 3 could be seen as the inversion of the Trojans' first charge in Book 1, when they followed Penthesilea into the fight like sheep led by a ram and following a herdsman (1.173–178). Earlier in Book 3, the Trojans were also compared to sheep, fearful upon the sight of the dead Achilles (Q.S. 3.181–185). Other images had already shown how Achaeans like Achilles (and Ajax) were mighty predators killing or terrifying Trojans like sheep (Q.S. 1.524–528, and Achilles *post mortem* in Agamemnon's speech: 3.497); once the Achaean Phyleus is also thus described (Q.S. 1.277–278). The sheep comparans is discussed in more detail in section 6.1.2 footnote 23.

For the first time in the *Posthomerica*, a fighting day ends with the Achaeans more distressed than the Trojans. Despite the latter's eventual defeat, the Greek side has to deal with a terrible loss that alters the prospects of their entire undertaking. Whereas at the beginning of this book the Trojans were suffering from their usual fear of losing the war,[65] the Achaeans now experience the same feeling for the first time (Q.S. 3.402–403). They are poignantly compared to people crying out as their city is sacked (Q.S. 3.413–417), which echoes the Trojan distress at the beginning of the first book.[66] In the same passage, Achilles is called ἀοσσητὴρ Δαναῶν ("savior of the Danaans", Q.S. 3.418). A rare epic word, ἀοσσητὴρ only occurs three times in the *Posthomerica*, two of which refer to Achilles in Book 3. While it is mainly used to indicate specific persons in specific interpersonal situations,[67] the term has a remarkably broad significance in this first instance: Achilles is perceived as the saviour of the entire Achaean army. The very victory or loss of the war depended on him. Unsurprisingly, then, the helplessness of the Achaean army is mentioned in several lamentations: for example in Ajax's speech (Q.S. 3.448–449) and Agamemnon's, which focuses entirely on the hero's death (Q.S. 3.493–503). Ajax is the only one in this book to call Achilles a "bulwark" (ἕρκος) of the Achaeans, and he does so twice: "μέγα ἕρκος ἐυσθενέων Ἀργείων" (Q.S. 3.435 = 2.390 in Nestor's speech) and "ἐπεὶ τόσσον περ Ἀχαιῶν ἕρκος ἀπηύρα" ("now that he has removed from the Achaeans so great a bulwark", Q.S. 3.449). After these three times, the word occurs again in Book 5, where Menelaus sighs that after Achilles, Ajax is the only bulwark left to defend them: "ἕρκος γὰρ πολέμοιο δεδουπότος Αἰακίδαο | μοῦνον ἔτ' ἦν Αἴαντος ἐὺ σθένος" ("with Aeacus' grandson dead the only bulwark left to us in the war was the strength of Ajax", Q.S. 5.423–424). Hence, in the first five books of the *Posthomerica*, the term is used exclusively for Achilles, and Ajax as his successor. Ajax is also the first Achaean to make his lament. This passage is introduced with a few significantly explicit statements:

65 See also footnote 7.

66 Compare to Q.S. 1.16–17, about the loss of Hector: "Over and around them hovered pain and sorrow, as though already Troy on fire was groaning".

67 In *Posthomerica* 3.489, Phoenix again uses ἀοσσητὴρ for Achilles, specifically to call him the protector of Peleus and Phoenix himself. This is more in line with the Homeric and Apollonian use of the word: *Iliad* 15.254 (Apollo comes to the assistance of the Trojans), 15.735 (Ajax seeks assistance in battle), 22.333 (Achilles has helped Patroclus by killing Hector), *Odyssey* 4.165 (Telemachus has no help in the palace), 23.119 (mankind seeks vengeance for their murdered relatives), *Argonautica* 1.471 (Idas offers his help to Jason), 4.146 (Sleep helps Jason and Medea to overcome the snake), 4.407 (Medea's brother as her guardian) and 4.785 (the other Argonauts, who help Jason).

> Αἴας δ' ἐν πρώτοισι μέγα στενάχων ἐγεγώνει,
> πατροκασιγνήτοιο φίλον ποθέων ἅμα παῖδα,
> βλήμενον ἐκ θεόφιν· θνητῶν γε μὲν οὔ τινι βλητὸς
> ἦεν, ὅσοι ναίουσιν ἐπὶ χθονὸς εὐρυπέδοιο.
>
> Q.S. 3.427–430

> Ajax was first to speak aloud amid his groans,
> Mourning for one who was also his father's brother's son,
> Struck dead by a god, for he couldn't have been killed by any
> Mortal human living upon the face of the earth.

Not only is the kinship between both heroes again specified, Ajax's focalized version of the facts now also expresses what the reader has assumed ever since Apollo's appearance at the beginning of Book 3: the reason that the god acted alone is that no mortal man could have killed Achilles. In four lines, both Achilles' superhuman nature and his close relationship to Ajax are called to mind. Ajax himself further elaborates on this by making a quite Achilles-like speech: first, he too curses the cowardice of the arrow, both in this specific case and as an indication of feebleness in general (Q.S. 3.437–443; see also Calero Secall 1998a, 81). Next, he states that no mortal could have defeated Achilles face to face (Q.S. 3.444–445). Both features are very much like Achilles' first dying speech (compare Q.S. 3.68–76). By repeating them, Ajax acknowledges Achilles' worth and proves himself an equal-minded successor. Ajax is not the only hero that receives attention during Achilles' first commemoration. Another matter of interest is Thetis' lament, that starts with an echo of Eos' grief in *Posthomerica* 2: "Happy can be the rosy-vestured Dawn in heaven (…) As for me, I'll go to Olympus and at the feet of immortal Zeus I'll lie and loudly make lament" (Q.S. 3.608–612). With a touch of irony, this can be compared to Eos' sigh: "I'm off to the darkness. Zeus can bring Thetis up to Olympus from the sea, in order to shine for gods and men" (Q.S. 2.619–620; Vian 1963 T1, 120 n. 2). In the end, both goddesses have suffered the same loss, and Memnon and Achilles share a similar fate.[68]

The corpse is burned upon a monumental pyre, in a scene recalling Homer's account of this same funeral in *Odyssey* 24 and, especially, the funeral of Patroclus.[69] As Achilles is placed on the bier, Athena makes him a marvel to look

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68 See also section 2.3.3. For further similarities between the laments for Memnon and Achilles, see Ferreccio (2014, 311–313).

69 For a few general observations, see also Boyten (2010, 110). The most remarkable features include the human sacrifice and the huge amount of other offerings (detailed references

at. His 'last face' mirrors the frown he wore when he was angry over Patroclus (Q.S. 3.538–539). This is in line with his characterization as a warrior throughout the last episodes of his life. In the end, a short glimpse of the future is granted to the reader: Achilles' horses are not allowed to leave the earth, for they will have a new master (Q.S. 3.743–765). This is the first step towards the issue of Achilles' inheritance, which will be broached in the next book: before Neoptolemus arrives, other Achaeans will compete for what Achilles has left behind.

3.2.3 *After Achilles:* Posthomerica *4*

At the beginning of *Posthomerica* 4, the Trojans are briefly depicted burying Glaucus.[70] The first event in this new book immediately, if indirectly, brings back to mind Ajax's deeds of the previous day. Despite their exultation in Achilles' death, a few Trojans rightfully remain cautious:[71]

> "Εἰσὶ⟨ν⟩ γὰρ κρατεροί τε καὶ ὄβριμοι ἀνέρες ἄλλοι,
> Τυδείδης Αἴας τε καὶ Ἀτρέος ὄβριμοι υἷες,
> τοὺς ἔτ' ἐγὼ δείδοικα κατακταμένου Ἀχιλῆος·"
>
> Trojan τις: Q.S. 4.37–39

> "They still have other brave and mighty men,
> The son of Tydeus, Ajax and Atreus' mighty sons.
> I'm still afraid of these in spite of Achilles' death."

This updated version of Penthesilea's list in *Posthomerica* 1.331–332 still mentions Ajax and Diomedes as the best of the Achaeans, but replaces Achilles with the Atreids. Any further hope of the Greek army should apparently lie in these

in Vian 1963 T1, 122 n. 2), the sacrifice of locks of hair (ibid. 122 n. 5), the pyre stirred by the gods of wind (ibid. 123 n. 1), the treatment of the bones (ibid. 124 n. 2 and 3), the tomb (ibid. 124 n. 4) and the mourning horses (also James 2004, 287–288). Despite Homeric influence, Vian also stresses the exaggeration in Achilles' funeral, indicating his superhuman characterization (1963 T1, 92; see also Lovatt 2013, 370–373).

70 For further discussion of Glaucus' burial and its resemblance to that of Sarpedon in the *Iliad*, see Vian (1963 T1, 136 n. 1) and James (2004, 289). Carvounis links both scenes to the burial of Memnon in Book 2 (2014, 201–207).

71 This cautious Trojan τις-speech (Q.S. 4.34–42) directly replies to a first, more hopeful one (Q.S. 4.20–31). Such a conversation between anonymous characters is rare. In Homer, τις-speeches are sometimes found near one another, the closest example being *Iliad* 17.415–422, where an Achaean and a Trojan τις successively express their intentions with Patroclus' body. This example does not involve a real conversation. In the Posthomeric case, however, interaction is clearly suggested (for example by "φῆσθα σύ", Trojan τις: Q.S. 4.34).

four. Indeed, after a night's rest, Diomedes is the first to take up arms again and rouse the Achaeans into action against the Trojans (Q.S. 4.83–87). His exhortation is tempered by Ajax: they should not resume battle before the funeral games, which Thetis has (privately) announced to him (Q.S. 4.92–96). After all, the Trojans will not easily regain courage as long as Diomedes, the Atreids and he himself are still alive (Q.S. 4.97–99). With these words, Ajax names the same four champions as the Trojan τις above, thus confirming the new hierarchy. Perhaps even more significant than the names on the list is the name *not* mentioned: Vian rightfully notes that Odysseus has thus far been neglected (1963 T1, 140 n. 1). This enhances the suspense towards the end of Book 4 and especially in Book 5 (see section 3.3). For now, it is Ajax who proves that he is special among the others on the list: Thetis has spoken to him alone, "νόσφ' ἄλλων Δαναῶν" ("away from the other Danaans", Q.S. 4.96).[72] However, the narrator also uses this speech as an occasion to voice a first warning about Ajax's doom. He comments on the hero's words as follows: "Not knowing that after the contests Fate[73] had prepared for him a doom that was painful and harsh" (Q.S. 4.100–102).

The funeral games will serve to divide Achilles' riches among those worthy of them, and even more so than in *Iliad* 23, to allow the greatest of heroes a chance to display their capacities. In particular, Ajax, who had not at all excelled during Patroclus' games, now enters the spotlight (Vian 1963 T1, 132). The structure of these funeral games has been discussed in earlier scholarship. Besides clear Homeric influences, the *Posthomerica* also adds considerable changes and, as they have been called, modernizations to this model.[74] Vian understands the new order in which the games take place, and the achieved network of oppositions and symmetry, as an innovation for literary reasons. The games are 'rejuvenated' by the addition of new contests: Quintus adds a display of Nestor's

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72 Vian's text edition provides an extra argument for Ajax's superiority at the beginning of Book 4: unlike James, who considers this an interpolation (see the comment on his translation in 2004, 289), Vian does take into account a sometimes omitted verse, which he places in the speech of Diomedes, after line 85: "Καὶ Τελαμωνιάδαο μέγα σθένος ἔκτοθι μίμνειν". Vian interprets this as a courtesy of Diomedes towards Ajax, in order to prepare Ajax's reply (1963 T1, 139 n. 3).

73 "Fate" is a rather strong translation for the Greek δαίμων, which Vian 1963 renders as "un dieu".

74 Zanusso compares Quintus' version to *Iliad* 23 (2014, 6–8). For possible Vergilian intertext, see Gärtner (2005, 82–93). Vian indicates Apollonian influence in the boxing competition (1963 T1, 150 n. 2 and 2008, 289–290). James refers to Theocritus for the boxing match (2004, 288–289). There is also a Polish contribution to the question of literary originality in Book 4 (Appel 1993), which I have sadly not been able to consult because of the language barrier.

TABLE 3 Overview of funeral games in *Posthomerica* 4

Episode	Contest	Winner(s)	Challenged by
1 (4.118–180)	**Eloquence**	Nestor	0—honoured old age
2 (4.181–214)	**Footrace**	Ajax Minor	Teucer
3 (4.215–283)	**Wrestling**	Ajax Major & Diomedes	(draw)
4 (4.284–323)	**Boxing**	Idomeneus	0—honoured old age
5 (4.324–404)	**Boxing**	Epeius & Acamas	(draw)
6 (4.405–435)	**Bow**	Teucer	Ajax Minor
7 (4.436–464)	**Weight throwing**[a]	Ajax Major	0—unchallenged[b]
8 (4.465–471)	**Jumping**	Agapenor	Anonymous
9 (4.472–478)	**Javelin**	Euryalus	Anonymous
10 (4.479–499)	**Pancratium**	Ajax Major	0—unchallenged
11 (4.500–544)	**Chariot**	Atreid Menelaus	Multiple opponents
12 (4.545–588)	**Horseback**	Atreid Agamemnon	Multiple opponents

a Vian interprets the σόλον περιμήκεά τε βριαρόν (Q.S. 4.436) as a discus (e.g. 1963 T1, 131).
b In this competition, many opponents try to lift the discus, but fail in the attempt. Since Ajax is the only one actually able to whirl the immense thing, it seems justified to interpret this victory as 'unchallenged'.

eloquence, a jumping contest, a *pancratium* and a race on horseback (1963 T1, 130–131). Indeed, the funeral competition in *Posthomerica* 4 has cleverly been arranged in order to meet the needs of the plot. Vian's model (1963 T1, 131), of which I here render a slightly modified version, gives a clear overview of its structure, especially the focus on the major heroes.

I fully agree with the six thematic pairs that Vian has indicated. The final column of my own table shows how these episodes are mostly linked together by the kind of victory the winning hero obtains. However, instead of the three groups that Vian marks as significant (my episodes 1–6, 7–10 and 11–12 respectively), I propose an alternative focus. Of twelve episodes, four are won by an unchallenged hero (marked in darker grey), four victories are obtained against multiple, sometimes even unspecified opponents (marked in lighter grey) and four end in a (kind of) draw (marked in white). Those who are currently placed highest on the 'list of Achaean hierarchy', namely both of the Atreids, Diomedes and especially Ajax Major (see again section 3.2.1), all get their moment(s) of glory. The latter even obtains two unchallenged triumphs, as others cannot, or dare not, match him. Nestor and Idomeneus are similarly honoured, but because of their old age. In the cases of lighter grey, furthermore, Agapenor, Euryalus, Menelaus and Agamemnon are the only outstanding heroes among

many others. Finally, Ajax Major and Diomedes on the one hand, and Epeius and Acamas on the other, finish their duels in draws. Teucer and Ajax Minor face each other twice and each win one contest, which can be interpreted as an evenly balanced outcome as well. Finally, the succession of episodes moves to a climax (Cerroni in Lelli ed. 2013, 722, following Willis 1941): towards the end, the victories become more spectacular. This is especially the case for the repeated participation of Ajax Major, who is the only hero to figure in three separate games, in which he always performs better than in the previous one.[75] In what follows, I do not discuss all of the games, but only focus on the passages in which Ajax Major[76] features. While discussing the sublimation of this hero, we should not forget that Book 4 mainly serves to commemorate Achilles. Although this aspect may remain somewhat underexamined in what follows, ample passages, mainly between games, honour the memory of Achilles and his former achievements.[77]

First, Ajax and Diomedes meet in the wrestling competition. Both heroes are well-matched from the beginning: they are named together in the dual form and are marvelled at by the Achaeans as being like gods (Q.S. 4.216–219). They clash like two wild animals (Q.S. 4.220–221) with equal power. This is stressed twice: ἶσον δ' ἀμφοτέροισι πέλει σθένος (Q.S. 4.222) and ὣς οἵ γ' ἶσον ἔχον κρατερὸν μένος (Q.S. 4.224). Unsurprisingly after such a well-balanced start, the two heroes each win one round. During their second clash, they are successively compared to two bulls, loudly duelling in the mountains (Q.S. 4.237–246), and two trees that knock against each other (Q.S. 4.248–249).[78] The warriors would have started a third round, were it not for Nestor, who stops them with praise:

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75 See Vian (1963 T1, 132) and Calero Secall (1998a, 80).

76 Whenever I use the name 'Ajax' without specification in this section, I refer to Ajax Major, son of Telamon.

77 Approximately half of Nestor's (indirectly rendered) song recalls Achilles' (pre-)Iliadic and Posthomeric accomplishments (Q.S. 4.146–168). This song is treated in more detail in section 7.1. Moreover, the awards for the various competitions are taken from Achilles' personal possessions, many of which he has gained during his heroic deeds. Some of these episodes are recounted as the prize is attributed (e.g. Q.S. 4.183–184, 381–396, 418–435, 469–471, 475–478 and 542–544). See Vian (1963 T1, 132–133) and Boyten (2010, 128–130 and 134–136).

78 Vian (1963 T1, 144 n. 3 and 145 n. 4) and James (2004, 291) note a possible source of inspiration for these images, in two Iliadic passages which occur immediately after one another, during the fight around Cebriones' body: 16.756–761 and 765–770.

"Ἴσχεσθ', ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, παλαισμοσύνης ὑπερόπλου·
ἴδμεν γὰρ δὴ πάντες ὅσον προφερέστατοί ἐστε
Ἀργείων μεγάλοιο καταφθιμένου Ἀχιλῆος."

Nestor: Q.S. 4.266–268

"Enough, my splendid sons, of this violent wrestling.
We all are well aware how far you both surpass
All other Argives now that great Achilles is dead."

These words are perfectly in line with their characterization thus far, particularly the place they have shared on the list of best Achaeans since *Posthomerica* 1. The word προφερέστατοι clearly indicates a struggle for superiority, which is the aim of this entire competition (Vian 1963 T1, 132 n. 1).[79] Diomedes and Ajax have now both proved that they are the most valuable warriors after Achilles. That this hierarchy considerably differs from Homer's becomes clear when the Iliadic intertextuality of this passage is taken into account. Two passages from Patroclus' funeral games can be linked to this Posthomeric episode. In *Iliad* 23.700–740, the wrestling competition of Ajax and Odysseus ends in a draw. In *Iliad* 23.798–825, Diomedes and Ajax engage in an armoured duel, which is stopped by the audience for fear of Ajax's life (Vian 1963 T1, 144 n. 3 and Calero Secall 1998a, 80). The combination of both scenes in the Posthomeric reworking leads to a few significant changes. In the Iliadic wrestling competition, the only match between Ajax and Odysseus ends undecided: Odysseus' ruse has trapped Ajax, but he lacks the strength to actually lift him and finish it. The entire scene involves each combatant attempting to lift the other, first Ajax and then Odysseus (twice with the imperfect ἀνάειρε: *Iliad* 23.725 and

79 The adjective προφερής, always in the comparative or the superlative form, is rare in Homer (one occurrence in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*), the *Argonautica* (four occurrences) and the *Posthomerica* (six occurrences, of which five are in the first five books). All the Posthomeric cases thus far have been cited in my Chapters 2 and 3: Q.S. 1.562 (Penthesilea boasts about herself), 2.421 (Memnon boasts about Eos), 3.354 (the eagle among other birds), 4.267 (both Diomedes and Ajax according to Nestor); further occurrences are found in Q.S. 5.309 (Odysseus about his own intellectual superiority) and 12.275 (Neoptolemus about Nestor's intelligence). Apparently, boasting about one's own superiority in these terms does not guarantee success. Ajax's claim is the strongest—or at least the longest lasting: it is implied in Book 3 (where he is the comparandum of the eagle) and partially acknowledged by Nestor in Book 4. However, Odysseus directly contests this claim in Book 5. Moreover, the last two instances of the adjective focus on the superiority of the mind specifically (for this altered focus, see also section 3.3.2 and Chapter 5). The four occurrences of the cognate verb προφέρω in Quintus are discussed in section 3.3.1.

729), before Achilles prevents a third struggle and accords victory to them both (*Iliad* 23.733–737). In the *Posthomerica*, Odysseus is replaced by Diomedes. As a result, a preliminary confrontation between the two heroes who will be the central figures of Book 5 is avoided. Those readers who are aware of the Iliadic intertextuality may even miss Odysseus, which draws attention to the noteworthy absence of the hero in Book 4. In fact, Odysseus is mentioned only twice in Book 4: in Q.S. 4.125–126 (Nestor's ability of eloquence was praised by stating that even Odysseus was second to him) and at the very end of *Posthomerica* 4 (see section 3.3). Moreover, Diomedes seems to be a remarkable replacement for Odysseus' well-known cunning character. Diomedes and Ajax engage in a fight that is now only based on their physical strength. In such a violent confrontation, both heroes have already tried each other in *Iliad* 23, with the title of 'the best' at stake: back then, Achilles had invited "ἄνδρε δύω περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν, ὥ περ ἀρίστω" (*Iliad* 23.802) to take up this challenge, to which both heroes responded. In the end, then, Achilles actually accords the prize for "the best" only to the winner Diomedes. This battle is now repeated in the *Posthomerica*, with a less decisive outcome. In their armoured fight during Patroclus' games, they seemed rather matched, until Diomedes obtained the upper hand and threatened to kill Ajax. After this, the game was called to an early halt in favour of Diomedes. In the *Posthomerica*, neither hero suffers a definitive defeat. However, their explicitly equal prowess also intrinsically denies either hero absolute superiority: only one hero can be the very best in the end. Diomedes does not undertake further attempts to prove himself in Book 4. Ajax, on the other hand, features in two more contests and by the end of the games unmistakably stands out above all the other participants, both by the number of events in which he participated and by the spectacular level of his victories. This is quite the opposite of his Iliadic performance, in which Telamonian Ajax also participated in three contests, but with a decreasing level of performance. As in the *Posthomerica*, his first duel ended in a draw (the wrestling match with Odysseus, see above), but from then on, however, he fared worse. Ajax's second Iliadic game (the armed fight) was brought to a premature halt in favour of his opponent. During his third event, the weight throwing (*Iliad* 23.826–849), he finished second, which is equal to defeat.

Ajax also takes part in the Posthomeric weight throwing competition, which is inspired by the *Iliad*,[80] but this version has a quite different outcome. While the weight used in the Iliadic contest was formerly Aeetion's (*Iliad* 23.826–827),

80 For detailed references, see Vian (1963 T1, 152 n. 6) and James (2004, 292–293).

this time the participants have to whirl Achilles' own device, which was a gift from Heracles to Peleus during the first sack of Troy (Q.S. 4.445–452). Achilles had specifically brought it along with him to this second siege of Troy "to keep him mindful of his father and make him fight the stalwart Trojans with greater zeal, and also as work for testing his strength" (Q.S. 4.453–455). The significant history of this artefact serves not only to illustrate the enormous power that is required to handle it, but also as a reminder of the kinship of Achilles and Ajax, both of whose fathers had participated in the first sack (compare Ajax's words in Q.S. 1.502–505).[81] Indeed, μενεδήιος Αἴας (Q.S. 4.439)[82] is the only one able to lift the weight and throw it. His ease is sharply contrasted to the failed attempts of any other competitors: the weight is so heavy that two men would have struggled to lift it (Q.S. 4.443–444),[83] but Ajax handles it as though it were the branch of an oak (Q.S. 4.440–442). For this impressive performance, he receives a double prize. First, he receives the armour of Memnon, which only Ajax is big enough to wear (Q.S. 4.457–462). Like Ajax, Memnon had proved—albeit only for a short while—that he could match Achilles in battle.[84] The weight itself

81 Vian remarks that this object, which according to the *Posthomerica* belonged to Antaeus before Heracles took it from him (Q.S. 4.445–447), is unknown in the Trojan cycle (1963 T1, 133 n. 5). This would only strengthen its literary function, and especially Ajax's supreme characterization. See also Boyten (2010, 135).

82 This Ajax is likely still the son of Telamon, and not of Oileus (Ajax Minor). Unlike Homer, who called Ajax 'the son of Telamon' during each event (*Iliad* 23.708, 722, 811 and 842), Quintus only specifies his exact identity during the first contest (Q.S. 4.227). Other elements provide sufficiently convincing proof to assume that the son of Telamon excels in two more games. In this case, the circumstances (i.e. the specific history of the weight and Ajax's formidable strength) and the epithet μενεδήιος give us a clue. The adjective is quite rare in Homer (only two occurrences in the *Iliad*). Quintus uses the word five times, twice for Ajax Major (Q.S. 1.495 and 3.252) and once more in Telamonian Ajax's reproach that Odysseus does not possess a μενεδήιον ἦτορ (Q.S. 5.189). It therefore seems plausible to associate this occurrence in Q.S. 4.439 (found in the exact same metrical position with the name Αἴας), to Ajax Major as well. Notably, it is the only occurrence *not* related to Ajax which builds a clear bridge to the Homeric use of the word: in *Iliad* 12.247, Hector reproaches Polydamas that he is not stronghearted. Paris similarly rebukes Polydamas in the Trojan assembly (Q.S. 2.69). Ajax, in turn, echoes these words in the debate of Book 5.

83 This is of course a Homeric *topos* to depict the strength of the biggest heroes. Homeric examples (provided by James 2004, 292), however, mainly speak of the "inability" of two mortals of "nowadays" to lift a similar weight. Still, Quintus' description implies to a certain extent how exceptional Ajax's strength is, even among his current peers, perhaps as a final relic from the Iliadic past.

84 This is an implicit precursor to the armour of Achilles, which is also in enormous. For the characterization implied in this armour, see Calero Secall (1998a, 80–81). For Ajax's enormous size, see Boyten (2010, 124–126).

is also given as a present to Ajax, to train his strength (Q.S. 4.463–464). These material gifts represent an important aspect of Achilles' inheritance: Ajax is now the only one able to match the strength and the size of Achilles.

Whereas in the previous game many had tried, but none had succeeded against Ajax, no one even dares to face the hero during his final participation.[85] If often unnoticed in previous scholarship, this subtle difference between the unchallenged victories is crucial to fully understanding the climax in Ajax's participation in the funeral games throughout Book 4. As the hero wants to "contend with fists and feet together" and therefore repeatedly challenges the ἡρώων τὸν ὑπέρτατον (Q.S. 4.480–481), none answers the call. Ajax's characterization is strengthened in the fear he evokes, expressed in both the general attitude of the Achaeans (Q.S. 4.481–486) and in an explicit refusal: Euryalus is pushed to meet him, but admits that of all the Achaeans, Ajax is the only one he does not dare to face (Q.S. 4.487–495). Euryalus also figured in the Iliadic boxing competition, where he was beaten by Epeius (*Iliad* 23.653 ff.). James notes that it may be ironic that, of all boxers, a Homeric loser is encouraged to face Ajax (2004, 293). What matters here, however, is not so much his previous defeat as the fact that Euryalus was the only one in the *Iliad* who dared accept the explicit challenge of Epeius (for the latter's threatening speech, see *Iliad* 23.667–675). If Euryalus declines this time, Ajax clearly poses a larger threat than Epeius did in the *Iliad*. None of the Iliadic games was cancelled out of fear of a challenger. Ajax, however, seems to inspire too much awe, and in the end, Thetis grants the prize by default.[86] Simultaneously, she sighs at his resemblance to Achilles (Q.S. 4.498–499).[87]

After an impressive draw in the wrestling competition and a sublime display of strength in the weight throwing, Ajax has now scared off any possible rival in

85 That we are dealing with the Telamonian Ajax is, again, only clear from circumstantial evidence (and once μέγαν δ' Αἴαντα, Q.S. 4.491). This time, the epithet ὀβριμόθυμος (Q.S. 4.479) can be an indicator of his identity. Of its 65 occurrences throughout Greek literature (according to TLG), 27 are found in the *Posthomerica* and none in Homer or the *Argonautica*. Before this passage in Book 4, it has been used 12 times, for several heroes (never Achilles or Ajax Minor), most often Memnon (four times) and Ajax Major (three times before now: Q.S. 1.377, 3.279 and 4.232 during his first contest; one more instance will follow in 5.406: see also footnote 139). During his third participation, Ajax's ὀβριμόθυμος' character is emphasized by two occurrences of the adjective (Q.S. 4.479 and 496). For the related, but more common epithet ὄβριμος, see Bär (2009, 157–158).

86 The outcome of this contest may remind readers of Nestor's praise song for Achilles (Q.S. 4.164–166).

87 For Thetis' perception of Ajax both here and in Q.S. 4.96, see Boyten (2010, 124).

his last game. After this climax, no one can doubt his supreme position above all the other Achaeans.[88] Throughout Book 4 and during his *aristeia* in Book 3, Ajax has proved himself the first and only warrior able to take Achilles' place and worthy of that position. Hence, as the division of Achilles' inheritance is about to reach its climax, he seems the favourite candidate to win the last honour, the judgment of arms, in Book 5.[89] However, Book 4 ends with the sudden reappearance of another who has thus far been remarkably absent: Odysseus. Implicitly, Books 3 and 4 have not only served to glorify one candidate, but also to raise suspense towards a final confrontation, which will take place in Book 5. How these tense expectations were raised in anticipation of a climax at the end of Book 4 is discussed in section 3.3.

3.3 Odysseus: the Power of Speech

After an entire book in honour of Achilles, and with remarkable attention paid to Ajax Major, the final verses of *Posthomerica* 4 explain why Odysseus has thus far abstained from the contests:

> (…) Ἐπὶ σφίσι δ' ἄχνυτο θυμὸν
> υἱὸς Λαέρταο δαΐφρονος, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
> νίκης ἱέμενον κρατερῶν ἀπέρυξεν ἀέθλων
> ἕλκος ἀνιηρὸν τό μιν οὔτασεν ὄβριμος Ἄλκων
> ἀμφὶ νέκυν κρατεροῖο πονεύμενον Αἰακίδαο.
>
> Q.S. 4.591–595

> (…) All this was very galling
> To the son of brave Laertes, since, though he was keen
> To strive for victory, he was kept from the contests of strength
> By a painful wound he had received from sturdy Alcon
> When struggling over the body of Aeacus' mighty grandson.

88 In between Ajax's performances, his brother Teucer also found glory: he lost his first contest against Ajax Minor, and was even wounded in that race, but won the archery competition despite his suffering and received extra praise for his persistence (Q.S. 4.415–417).

89 In a brief overview, James and Lee agree with Mansur that Ajax's performances thus far result in a "simple one-sided characterisation of Ajax as a paragon of heroic virtue (…) consistent with his status in H[omer]" (2000, 71; see also Vian 1963 T1, 132 and Calero Secall 1998a, 81). Although this conclusion seems somewhat oversimplified, Ajax's claim in the judgment of arms will indeed be based on his Achilles-like manifestation thus far.

This passage draws attention to the notable absence of Odysseus thus far and refers to the only other physical appearance of the hero in the *Posthomerica* before this:[90] he took part in the fight over Achilles' body, though his contribution was only briefly shown in the middle of Ajax's *aristeia* (Q.S. 3.296–321). Moreover, he was wounded during that battle, which did not stop him. This is explicitly stated in Q.S. 3.321, before the focus returns to the *aristeia* of Ajax. Even if Odysseus disappears from view again, it has to be assumed that he keeps on fighting, despite his wound. The endurance of wounded heroes in battle has strong heroic significance in Homer,[91] and could thus be understood as a positive feature of Odysseus' characterization as a hero of strength in Book 3. Sadly, however, the injury later prevents him from participating in the funeral games. Odysseus' focalization at the end of Book 4 expresses how much he regrets having missed this opportunity. When Thetis exposes the armour of Achilles as the final prize of the funeral games, therefore, it need not surprise anyone that much is at stake for this hero. With this surprising appearance of Odysseus as a legitimate rival for Ajax *in extremis*, Vian rightfully calls Book 4 the psychological preparation for the judgment of arms (1963 T1, 129, 132).

3.3.1 *Claiming to Be the Best*

In the last phase of the funeral games, Thetis has reserved Achilles' divine armour[92] for an exceptional warrior:

90 Other than that reference, Odysseus has only briefly been mentioned in Book 1, for his chastising of Thersites (Q.S. 1.759–760), and in Book 4, to indicate that he is inferior only to Nestor in eloquence (Q.S. 4.125–126).

91 Horn describes a 'hierarchy' of prowess in relation to casualties: a hero can only be killed by someone superior to himself. If attacked by a lesser man, he only takes a wound (at worst). This explains why minor warriors are never lightly wounded but always killed, and why Homer focuses on several wounds taken by the greatest champions. Suffering a nonlethal wound could be deemed a 'privilege' of the first-class hero. It is a reminder of his mortality and proves that he goes to great lengths to obtain glory (2014, 89–95). Hence, wounds are not deemed shameful, but could rather be seen as additional indications of the hero's strength (and endurance).

92 Book 5 opens with the display of Achilles' armour and an extensive *ekphrasis* (Q.S. 5.1–120). Essentially, the narrator describes the same shield as in *Iliad* 19, yet the two descriptions are far from the same. This and the other two shield *ekphraseis* in the *Posthomerica* have received ample scholarly attention before, including Vian (1966 T2, 4–7), Byre (1982), James & Lee (2000, 33–38), Baumbach (2007), Maciver (2007 and 2012b, 39–86, the former followed by Boyten 2010, 271–273), Bär (2009, 71–72), Tomasso (2010, 175–193) and Mazza (2014).

“Ἀλλ’ ἴτω ὅς τ’ ἐσάωσε νέκυν καὶ ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν,
καί νύ κέ οἱ θηητὰ καὶ ἄμβροτα τεύχε’ ἕσασθαι
δώσω, ἃ καὶ μακάρεσσι μέγ’ εὔαδεν ἀθανάτοισιν.”

Thetis: Q.S. 5.125–127

“Let him who rescued the corpse come forward, Achaea’s best man,
And I will give him this splendid superhuman armor
To wear, which even the blessed immortals greatly admire.”

Although the English translation suggests that whoever saved Achilles’ body indeed is “Achaia’s best man”, the Greek text leaves room for a more ambiguous interpretation: both elements could, but need not necessarily be connected. Some have interpreted the double expectation Thetis stipulates as a cross-contamination of two existing traditions (Vian 1966, T2, 9 and James & Lee 2000, 69). As I argue below, however, Quintus seems to blend both aspects into a functional ambiguity. Precisely the fact that Thetis’ words leave room for doubt will instigate the judgment of arms. With the information the *Posthomerica* has previously given, it is impossible to unambiguously identify who answers her criteria. This will render the judgment of arms rather complex and turn it into a tense competition.[93] Before looking further into this issue, it is worth going back to the facts of Book 3 to check which heroes meet (part of) the expectations. First, it is uncertain what exactly Thetis means by ‘rescuing the body’. Ajax performed an impressive *aristeia* which in the end sent the Trojans fleeing, yet Odysseus was there too, albeit on a more invisible level. Judging from his short appearance, which ended with him ignoring his wound,[94] his contribution was meritorious as well. They are the only two heroes mentioned in the battle proper. However, neither of them is said to have actually carried Achilles’ body home afterwards:

Τοὔνεκά μιν βασιλῆες ἀπὸ πτολέμου ἐρύσαντες
ἀμφὶ νέκυν φορέεσκον ἀπείριτον.

Q.S. 3.385–386

93 Bär argues that Thetis intends no new competition, since it has been made sufficiently clear in the previous books that Ajax should by rights receive the armour (2010, 307), whereas the narrartor inserts passages that raise doubt about the exclusivity of Ajax’s claim, to prepare for and justify the debate that will follow. Maciver stresses the *neikos* character of the scene (2012c, 611).

94 Ajax, on the other hand, was invulnerable in battle (Q.S. 1.566–567). Vian discusses this unhomeric tradition (1963 T1, 34 n. 3). See also Calero Secall (1998a, 82).

> So the princes dragged his massive frame from the fighting
> And carried it between them.

This is a remarkably imprecise rendering of the facts, and with good reason. According to several studies, Quintus has considerably reworked the existing traditions about the rescue of Achilles' body (Calero Secall 1998a, 83). The battle is no longer represented as a *mêlée* with varying protagonists, as in Patroclus' rescue in the *Iliad*, but is centred on Ajax and—to a lesser extent—Odysseus. In doing so, the narrative only focuses on the heroes who, according to different mythological traditions, played the largest part in saving Achilles, with a clear preference for Ajax, who is accorded the most glorious position in the fight. Vian interprets this adaptation as extra praise for Ajax at the expense of Odysseus in the build-up to the judgment (1963 T1, 90–91, see also Calero Secall 1998a, 81). Rather than going along with Vian's negative view of this reworking, which according to him lacks pathos, I want to draw attention to the suspense that is thus raised in preparation for Thetis' double condition in Book 5: both Ajax and Odysseus are welcome to lay claim to Achilles' weapons. The anonymous rescue of the body, moreover, leaves room for doubt about who deserves the inheritance most. Quintus here follows the equally anonymous version of *Odyssey* 24 (Boyten 2010, 110). Recounted by Agamemnon, this summary of Achilles' rescue is quite brief: "(…) about you, others fell, the best of the sons of the Trojans and Achaeans, fighting for your body; and you in the whirl of dust lay mighty in your mightiness, forgetful of your horsemanship. We on our part strove the whole day long, nor should we ever have held back from the fight, had not Zeus held us back with a hurricane. But after we had borne you to the ships out of the fight, we laid you on a bier (…)" (*Odyssey* 24.37–44). Agamemnon here claims to have taken part in the fight, but he is not mentioned in *Posthomerica* 3. All in all, the *Posthomerica* seems to deliberately limit its number of active heroes to the only two who are relevant for the rest of the plot. On the other hand—and again in the interest of the plot—this new version refrains from providing specific information about the exact part they both played.[95] Not naming the 'real' saviour

95 Interpretations about why this happens differ. Sodano refers to Cyclic (and visual) traditions in which Ajax carries the body while Odysseus wards off final attackers. He assumes that the negative evolution in the appreciation of Odysseus throughout literary tradition has forced Quintus to minimalize the latter's role (1947, 65–69). Mansur finds that Odysseus' characterization in the *Posthomerica* neglects later negative tendencies and shows him as a favourite again (1940, 30). Vian interprets the carrying of the body a task less honourable than fighting off the enemies, which is why Quintus has focused on Ajax for the latter (1963 T1, 90).

could therefore be just another means of raising suspense. Properly speaking, then, there is no straightforward answer to Thetis' first question about the rescue.

The matter of who is the "best of the Achaeans" remains. Maciver indicates that Thetis' speech accounts for the only occurrence of the phrase ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν in the *Posthomerica*. This phrase is strongly related to the competitive hierarchy among heroes in the *Iliad* (especially Book 1). As has been touched upon in Chapter 2, this hierarchy is strongly based on achievement. Although high and/or divine origin (φύσις) may greatly help, a hero still needs actively to gain and safeguard his place on the competitive heroic ladder by proving his excellence. Achilles was urged to do so by his father before coming to Troy (Horn 2014, 46–50):[96]

> "Πηλεὺς μὲν ᾧ παιδὶ γέρων ἐπέτελλ' Ἀχιλῆϊ
> αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων"
>
> Nestor: *Iliad* 11.783–784

> "Old Peleus charged his son Achilles always to be bravest and preeminent above all."

The verb ἀριστεύειν not only implies the attempt to surpass the others, but also to be best of all (ἄριστος). In the *Iliad*, the phrase ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν draws attention to this continuous heroic contest from Book 1 onwards. Achilles is the first to use the expression, in an implicit sneer to Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.91).[97] Later on, he twice scoffs that he has not been honoured as the ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν by Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.244 and 412).[98] Patroclus takes up the same phrase in

96 Hippolochus gave similar advice to Glaucus: "He sent me to Troy and earnestly charged me always to be bravest and preeminent above all (αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων), and not to bring shame (αἰσχυνέμεν) on the race of my fathers, who were far the best (οἳ μέγ' ἄριστοι) in Ephyre and in wide Lycia. This is the lineage and the blood of which I declare I am sprung" (Glaucus: *Iliad* 6.207–210).

97 Achilles reassures Calchas: "No one, while I live and have sight on the earth, shall lay heavy hands on you beside the hollow ships, no one of all the Danaans, not even if it is Agamemnon you mean, who now declares himself far the best of the Achaeans (ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν)" (Achilles: *Iliad* 1.88–91).

98 "But you will gnaw your heart within you in wrath that you did not at all honor the best of the Achaeans (ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν)" (Achilles to Agamemnon: *Iliad* 1.243–244). Later on, he asks his mother: "Clasp his [Zeus'] knees, in the hope that he may be minded to help the Trojans, and to pen in those others, the Achaeans, among the sterns of their ships and around the sea as they are killed, so that they may all have profit of their king, and the son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon, may know his blindness in that he honored the best of the Achaeans not at all (ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν)" (Achilles to Thetis: *Iliad* 1.407–412).

Achilles' defence in Book 16.274. In the *Odyssey*, Demodocus sings of a quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus as the ἄριστοι Ἀχαιῶν (8.78). There is an explicit tension between the supreme status of Achilles and Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, the former primarily based on the achievements of his strength and the latter primarily based on his political position as chief of the army (twice κάρτερος and φέρτερος, respectively, in the speeches of Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1.178–186 and of Nestor in 1.280–281; see Horn 2014, 155–157). However, the variant 'φέρτατος Ἀχαιῶν' is also repeatedly used by Patroclus (*Iliad* 16.21) and Odysseus (*Iliad* 19.216 and *Odyssey* 11.478) to address Achilles. There are more variants in this kind of superlative phrases, and my current lists are not exhaustive. All in all, Achilles is most consistently associated with such terms.[99] It is quite significant, then, that Quintus only mentions the famous 'title' when Thetis is about to award the highest honour of Achilles' inheritance: the right to wear his armour and thus, implicitly, to be his successor (Maciver 2012a, 612–613). Since no answer is provided to the question of 'who saved the body', the judgment of arms will essentially address this second condition: who will, after Achilles, become the best of Achaeans?

After what we have seen above, it does not come as a surprise that only two heroes rise to make the claim:[100] "the son of Laertes" (Q.S. 5.129) and "godlike Telamon's son Ajax, who surpassed all Danaan men by far. Just as one conspicuous star in the glittering sky, the evening star, shines far more brightly

99 Nagy provides an extensive study of these terms as titles for Achilles' excellence (1979, 26–41; extended and elaborated by Edwards 1984). Essentially, however, the competition is continuous, and takes place on different levels at once. For example, Nestor uses the words ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν for Agamemnon, thus acknowledging his leadership and the authority of his dream (*Iliad* 2.82), Diomedes is called ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν twice in battle (*Iliad* 5.103 and 414; Achilles is no longer an active warrior at that point). Teucer is called the best of Achaeans with the bow (Idomeneus to Meriones: *Iliad* 13.313) and Epeius claims the title as he is unchallenged in the boxing competition (*Iliad* 23.668–669). Once, Hector is urged to challenge "whomever is the best of the Achaeans" (Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος) to a duel (Helenus: *Iliad* 7.50). The words are also used four times in the *Odyssey*, to indicate Penelope's possible new marriage to whomever is the best (11.179, 16.76, 18.289 and 19.528). See also Polydamas' extensive list of (heroic) talents to Hector, used to point out that not every hero excels in everything (*Iliad* 13.726–735).

100 The other heroes in the hierarchic 'shortlist', Diomedes and the Atreids, have already proven inferior to Ajax in Book 4. In another version of the judgment of arms, Ovid makes a show of explicitly eliminating any candidates other than Ajax Major and Ulysses: "His very shield, that you might know to whom it once belonged, still wages war, and for his arms arms are taken up. Neither Tydides nor Ajax, Oileus' son, dares to claim them, nor the lesser Atrides, nor the greater in prowess and in age, nor other chieftains. Only the son of Telamon and Laërtes' son were bold enough to claim so great a prize" (*Metamorphoses* 12.620–625). About references to Ovid in this chapter, see footnote 104.

than the rest, like that was Ajax standing beside Achilles' armor" (Q.S. 5.129–133). This somewhat disproportionate introduction of both contestants clearly indicates—or rather, confirms—the narrator's seeming partiality to Ajax. This is even strengthened by the Homeric intertextuality implied in the comparison: in *Iliad* 22.317–319, Achilles is also compared to Hesperus just before he deals Hector the fatal blow (Maciver 2012a, 608 and n. 37 for further references). Already closely resembling Achilles, Ajax now seems ready to take over his place. However, even as the reader still cherishes this illusion, Nestor takes Idomeneus and Agamemnon aside to deliver another message:

"(…) Μέγα δ' ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἀχαιοῖς,
κείνων ἤν τινα δεινὸς ἕλῃ χόλος, οὕνεκα πάντων
ἡρώων προφέρουσιν, ὃ μὲν πολέμῳ, ὃ δὲ βουλῇ."

Nestor: Q.S. 5.149–151

"(…) Great will be the Achaeans' regret
If either is seized by dreadful wrath, for of all our champions
They are the best, the one in battle, the other in counsel."

Agamemnon explicitly agrees: "Truly this contest is between the best (ἄριστοι)" (Q.S. 5.170). From the perspective of Nestor and his elderly companions, Odysseus and Ajax have equal chances of success: they both excel, but in different 'disciplines'. In contrast to its occurrence in Homer, the verb προφέρω in Quintus invariably means "to excel".[101] Of its four Posthomeric occurrences, only here does it refer to two heroes at once. Per definition, such a position cannot be shared. This also becomes clear in the funeral games: Nestor may have called both Ajax and Diomedes the προφερέστατοι after the wrestling (Q.S. 4.267), but in later games Ajax has unmistakably risen above Diomedes and claimed the dominant position among Achaean heroes. Hence, it seems obvious that this final and most important duel of the funeral games can have but one winner. Odysseus and Ajax will compete as 'two halves of the ideal hero' (Maciver 2012a, 613–615), aiming not to complement, but to surpass and defeat the other.

101 The other occurrences refer to Penthesilea (speech Hippodameia, Q.S. 1.420), Achilles' female servants (Q.S. 4.275) and Achilles (speech Deidamia, Q.S. 7.274; Vian & Battegay 1984, 408). For the use of προφερής, see footnote 79.

3.3.2 *Arguing to Be the Best*

The matter will be decided with words. In a debate consisting of a total of four speeches, both Ajax and Odysseus first each make a long statement and then briefly reply to each other.[102] Obviously, and to Ajax's frustration (Q.S. 5.229–236: see below), their rhetorical qualities will therefore matter greatly to the final judgment. Indeed, within the *Posthomerica*, Book 5 has a remarkably rhetorical focus, of which several detailed analyses are already available.[103] It is generally agreed that the structure of the debate recalls Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13. Many of the arguments, particularly those of Ajax, recur in the *Posthomerica*, even if Quintus' Ajax is unmistakably a poor rhetorician compared to Odysseus. The latter's speeches in Ovid are concise and neatly focused on two central themes, well in opposition to Ajax's straightforward and passionate words.[104] Bär interprets Quintus' Odysseus as a clever, somewhat negatively characterized sophist against whom Ajax does not stand a chance (2010, 299–308). Maciver further elaborates that Ajax assumes the wrong genre of speech for his contributions: as if still on the battlefield, he addresses Odysseus in a battle flyte,[105] whereas Odysseus successfully assesses their changed context and adapts his words to the new situation (2012a, 613–623). I will refrain from repeating these excellent points about the rhetorical qualities of both heroes. Instead, the following analysis mainly discusses some of the arguments both heroes use to defend their own claim and heroic identity. Essentially, their

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102 Ajax starts (Q.S. 5.181–236), Odysseus follows (Q.S. 5.239–290), Ajax replies (Q.S. 5.292–305) and Odysseus finishes (Q.S. 5.307–316). For a detailed overview, see James & Lee (2000, 80–82 and 91–93).

103 For general observations about the rhetorical focus of this book, see Bär (2010, 296–297) and James & Lee (2000, 16, following Elderkin's 1906 figures). In depth literary studies of the judgment have recently been conducted by Bär (2010) and Maciver (2012a). My own position in this discussion is made explicit below.

104 For further analysis and comparison to Ovid, see Ferrari (1963, 17–22) and Vian (1966 T2, 10–13), who does not believe in direct influence, but rather suggests that both authors relied on a common source. Further discussion also by Calero Secall (1998a, 84–85 and n. 24), James & Lee (2000, 80) and Lelli (ed. 2013, xlvi–xlvii). Detailed notes on resemblances to and deviations from Ovid's version can be found throughout the commentaries of James & Lee (2000) and Vian (1966 T2). In what follows, Ovidian intertext is not my main focus. I only occasionally refer to remarkable passages that could suggest some sort of interaction.

105 For further references to Maciver's study on battle flyte, see also my section 2.3.2 footnote 119. He uses the term specifically in relation to Book 5. The first two lines of Ajax's speech already recall Achilles' words to Penthesilea and Ajax's to Glaucus earlier on: "Some god must have robbed you of your wits to think yourself my equal in unyielding strength" (Q.S. 5.181–182). See also section 3.2.2.

respective speeches serve as an important form of self-characterization, and in the meantime indicate how opinions about heroic qualities can differ.

As befits these quite different heroes, they both stress an opposite point of excellence. As expected, Ajax puts forward his impressive strength, which has until now formed the core of his heroic characterization (James & Lee 2000, 71). This was Achilles' 'heroic speciality' too, and undoubtedly none could better replace the son of Peleus in this respect. Ajax's interpretation of this judgment of arms is that a 'new Achilles' must replace the old one. This becomes particularly clear at the end of his first speech, where Ajax states that he does not understand why this strife must be decided with words:

> "Ἀλλὰ τί ἢ μύθοισιν ἐριδμαίνοντε κακοῖσιν
> ἕσταμεν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἀγλαὰ τεύχη,
> ὅς τις φέρτερός ἐστιν ἐνὶ φθισήνορι χάρμῃ;
> Ἀλκῆς γὰρ τόδ' ἄεθλον ἀρήιον, οὐκ ἀλεγεινῶν
> θῆκεν ἐνὶ μέσσοις ἐπέων Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα.
> Μύθων δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ χρειὼ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
> οἶδα γὰρ ὡς σέο πολλὸν ἀγαυότερος καὶ ἀρείων
> εἰμί· γένος δέ μοί ἐστιν ὅθεν μεγάλῳ Ἀχιλῆι."
>
> Ajax: Q.S. 5.229–236

> "But why are we standing here beside the splendid armor
> Of noble Achilles wrangling with abusive words
> To see who is the better man in mortal combat?
> For prowess, not for hurtful words this martial prize
> Has been placed before us all by silver-footed Thetis.
> Words are needed by people when they meet in assembly.
> I know I am a better and far nobler man
> Than you, and my stock is the same as that of great Achilles."

Ajax's speech holds few surprises for the reader, who is already aware of his superb power, his kinship to Achilles[106] and even his enormous size. All of this makes it plausible that physically, the armour would only fit Ajax and not Odysseus.[107] In many ways, Ajax's rhetorical 'tactic'—if such a term can be used

106 His descent from Aeacus and hence Zeus is an important argument for Ajax in Ovid as well (*Metamorphoses* 13.21–33: James 2004, 297). This is all the more interesting because, as discussed in footnote 37, Homer does not mention this kinship.

107 This is another of Ajax's arguments (Q.S. 5.224–228), which has already been prepared by one of the prizes he obtained in Book 4: for Memnon's armour as well, Ajax was the only

for his poor attempt—involves the same violence as his spear on the battlefield. He spices his plea with insults to Odysseus, in which he basically calls him a coward. Both of his speeches start with such a tonality. Ajax also argues that ruse is a tactic of the powerless, and hence that strength and ruse exclude each other. This is particularly clear in Q.S. 5.189–190: "No heart for steadfast fighting (μενεδήιον ἦτορ)[108] is in your breast; your concern is with deceit and deeds of shame", and in his second insulting address to Odysseus: "Ὦ Ὀδυσεῦ δολομῆτα καὶ ἀργαλεώτατε πάντων" ("Odysseus, most cunning and troublesome man", Q.S. 5.292). Odysseus will argue the exact opposite. Ajax proves his own power and Odysseus' wrongs by calling to mind earlier phases of the Trojan War—both Iliadic[109] and pre-Iliadic[110]—and using a few remarkable similes and comparisons. Ajax seems to 'recycle' two images that the narrator has previously used to describe his prowess during the fighting in Book 3. First, Ajax disdainfully compares Odysseus to a dog facing a lion (Q.S. 5.187–188). Similarly, Ajax attacked the Trojans around Achilles' body like a lion facing dogs and hunters in Q.S. 3.267–268.[111] In his second speech, Ajax recalls how he had chased away the Trojans like an eagle against geese or cranes (Q.S. 5.297–301). In this statement, Ajax inflates the original image, or at least his own impact in the original image of Q.S. 3.353–354 where the eagle faced vultures. Also, in his recollection of the rescue of Achilles' body, Ajax gives a rather coloured rendering of the facts. He rightfully reflects that his performance during battle would have been a more apt test of his qualities than this debate, and then claims that he himself carried home the armour and Achilles (Q.S. 5.218–222). Given the vague wordings of the narrator in Book 3, this cannot be contested nor confirmed. In his second speech, however, Ajax clearly deviates from the truth. First, he claims not to have seen Odysseus at the fight, when he was busy slaughtering Trojans (Q.S. 5.293–297). This is still plausible, as Ajax himself was fully occupied at the moment and, after all, the reader only got a brief glimpse of Odysseus as well.

hero of the right size (James & Lee 2000, 89, James 2004, 293 and 297, and Calero Secall 1998a, 80–81).

108 See also footnote 82.

109 E.g. he remembers how he successfully fought Hector (Q.S. 5.215–217). This can refer to several episodes in the *Iliad*: their undecided duel (*Iliad* 7.175–312), confrontations in *Iliad* 13.190–205, 673–722 and 14.402–439 and the battle around the ships (15.674–746; Vian 1963 T1, 26 n. 5).

110 E.g. the story of Palamedes and the abandoning of Philoctetes (Q.S. 5.195–199).

111 James and Lee also point at the remarkable use of the *hapax* μεγαλοβρύχοιο for the lion, to which the epithet ἐριβρύχμοιο, used for the lion in Achilles' second dying simile (Q.S. 3.171), is related (2000, 83). Again, this would strengthen the assimilation of Achilles and Ajax.

When Ajax finally states, however, that Odysseus was nowhere near the body that day ("οὔ τί μευ ἄγχι | μάρναο δυσμενέεσσιν, ἑκὰς δέ που ἦσθα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἀμφ' ἄλλῃσι φάλαγξι πονεύμενος, οὐ περὶ νεκρῷ | ἀντιθέου Ἀχιλῆος", Ajax: Q.S. 5.302–305), he plainly contradicts the facts. Indeed, Odysseus' brief appearance in Book 3 started off with the exact opposite statement: ἄγχι δὲ Λαέρταο δαΐφρονος υἱὸς ἀμύμων | μάρνατο δυσμενέεσσι ("nearby the peerless son of the warrior Laertes engaged the enemy", Q.S. 3.296–297). Ajax, therefore, only confirms the image of his rudimentary strength that was already obvious from his previous performances in the *Posthomerica*. Moreover, his speeches are prone to exaggeration, especially the second, briefer one, in which he is clearly more vexed by Odysseus' words. As for his claim to the armour, he supposes that he is fit to replace Achilles, since he alone shares the latter's incredible power. The question remains, however, if an exact copy of Achilles and his extraordinary βίῃ is what the Achaean army will need in the future.[112]

Odysseus takes the opposite view. He starts off by addressing Ajax as ἀμετροεπές (Q.S. 5.239), a Quintian *hapax* that occurs only once in Homer, to introduce Thersites (narrator text; *Iliad* 2.212). Thus subtly undermining Ajax's rhetorical credibility, Odysseus then proceeds to the main weakness in Ajax's plea:

"Οὐτιδανὸν δέ μ' ἔφησθα καὶ ἀργαλέον καὶ ἄναλκιν
ἔμμεναι, ὃς σέο πολλὸν ὑπέρτερος εὔχομαι εἶναι
μήδεσι καὶ μύθοισιν ἅ τ' ἀνδράσι κάρτος ἀέξει."

Odysseus: Q.S. 5.240–242

"You have called me a worthless and troublesome weakling,
Whereas I am sure that I'm far superior to you
Both in wit and in words, the things that make men strong."

At once, Odysseus changes the victory conditions of this game: to be πολλὸν ὑπέρτερος, physical power alone is not enough.[113] His interpretation of heroic qualities is broader than Ajax's. According to Odysseus, no strength can prevail without wits: "Courage, however, is without effect and size amounts to nothing in a man, unless it's attended by wisdom and wit (πινυτή ... μῆτις)"

112 This reflection is made by Kneebone (2007, 305) and will be further elaborated in Chapter 5.

113 Odysseus echoes the words of Ajax in 5.202, where the latter in turn had claimed to be πολλὸν ὑπέρτερον than Odysseus (catchword technique: see Bär 2010, 344). For the only five occurrences of this phrase in the *Posthomerica*, see Bär (2009, 344) and my section 2.1.1 footnote 15.

(Odysseus: Q.S. 5.263–265).[114] Odysseus then applies this reflection to his own accomplishments by recalling—again—Iliadic[115] and pre-Iliadic[116] passages in which he excelled. Odysseus also links the past to the future in a way Ajax could not:[117] should another hero be needed in the future, Odysseus alone will be able to bring him to Troy (Q.S. 5.257–262). While Ajax dwells on the past to prove his worth, Odysseus' words will prove prophetic in the following books.[118] Odysseus, however, does not ignore Ajax's arguments. He touches upon several of them and systematically refutes the points of his opponent.[119] For example, he explains the central position of his ships,[120] and corrects Ajax's recollection of an event earlier in the Trojan War: whereas Ajax claimed to have saved Odysseus from a certain fight from which he tried to flee (Q.S. 5.202–205), Odysseus states the complete opposite (Q.S. 5.268–275).[121] According to the *Iliad*, the truth lies somewhere in between. Vian identifies both descriptions as representations of the battle of Odysseus in *Iliad* 11.401–574, where Odysseus finds himself isolated as he is wounded by Socus. He kills this opponent and is

114 Odysseus also gives an extensive list of general examples where μῆτις prevails over strength (Q.S. 5.243–252). This is discussed in more detail in section 5.1.

115 He took part in the *Dolonia* in *Iliad* 10, where Diomedes chose him as his companion (Q.S. 5.253–255). Intriguingly, the Ovidian version of the judgment repeatedly puts forward Diomedes as an important hero who—depending on the speaker—can overshadow or highlight the heroic deeds of Odysseus (Ajax: *Metamorphoses* 13.100–113, and Odysseus: *Metamorphoses* 13.238–242). The *Posthomerica* hardly takes Diomedes into account in this respect. The overshadowed characterization of Diomedes in Quintus has been discussed in section 3.2.2.

116 He brought Achilles to Troy against his will (Q.S. 5.256–257). By recalling this passage, Odysseus cleverly provides a counterexample of Ajax's aggravating recollection of Odysseus' own cowardice at the beginning of the Trojan War (Q.S. 5.191–194). Ovid explicitly links both arguments and turns them into yet another proof of Odysseus' eloquence: "Yet he was discovered by Ulysses' wit; but not by Ajax's wit, Ulysses" (Odysseus: *Metamorphoses* 13.304–305; James & Lee 2000, 92 and 97).

117 This was one of Odysseus' explicit arguments in Ovid: "You have force without intelligence; while mine is the care for to-morrow (sic). You are a good fighter; but it is I who help Atrides select the time of fighting" (Ulysses: *Metamorphoses* 13.363–365).

118 This is discussed in more depth in section 3.4.

119 Unlike Ovid's Odysseus, he does not answer some of the more painful issues, such as the betrayal of Palamedes. I am not convinced that this is an indication of weakness in Odysseus' argument, as James and Lee seem to think (2000, 92 and 102; see also James 2004, 297). Odysseus builds his own case, of which the refutation of Ajax's arguments is only a minor part. By tackling some of the reproaches that are easier to contest, Odysseus' speech may, as a whole, give a stronger impression than when he would only partially reply to serious accusations.

120 Q.S. 5.275–278 in reply to Q.S. 5.210–214. For further discussion, see section 4.2.2.

121 For verbal echoes between both passages, see James & Lee (2000, 98).

then rescued by Menelaus and Ajax. Later on, Zeus forces the latter to flee (Vian 1966 T2, 29 n. 2). Finally and inevitably, Odysseus also looks back to the rescue of Achilles' body. Just like Ajax, he claims to have saved the body himself (Q.S. 5.285–289). Again, we cannot be sure about this detail. Several scholars interpret his claim as nothing more than a lie (James & Lee 2000, 14, Bär 2010, 302 and Maciver 2012a, 609). I would rather state that Quintus plays with the ignorance of the reader: that we saw Odysseus for only a brief moment during the battle does not imply that he did not fight well while out of the spotlight. This implication—if present—may still be called tendentious, but is in any case less obviously untrue than the exaggerations in Ajax's second speech. Odysseus, moreover, is clever enough to mention another fact that everyone can verify: the wound he has suffered during that same battle seems an apt refutation of Ajax's untruthful claim about his absence above. He finishes his first speech with: "I too, like Achilles, can claim the noble blood of Zeus" (Q.S. 5.290). This 'by the way' seems to echo, perhaps with a touch of humour, Ajax's final verse, which carried the same message, queerly placed at the end of his argument and somewhat out of place. Odysseus' message seems clear: he is what Ajax is, and more. Odysseus proves himself the more 'complete' hero.[122] His second speech and thus final response to Ajax neatly wraps up this claim one last time. Odysseus keeps to general statements in this second address. James and Lee find this an indication of weakness in Odysseus' argument (2000, 102). I would argue that, rather than responding to the outrageous exaggerations of Ajax's second speech, which have sufficiently refuted themselves, Odysseus uses what time he has left to strengthen the key point of his own argument:

"Αἶαν, ἐγὼν οὐ σεῖο κακώτερος ἔλπομαι εἶναι
οὐ νόον οὐδὲ βίην, εἰ καὶ μάλα φαίδιμός ἐσσι·
ἀλλὰ νόῳ μὲν ἔγωγε πολὺ προφερέστερός εἰμι
σεῖο μετ' Ἀργείοισι, βίῃ δέ κεν ἀμφήριστος
ἢ καὶ ἀγαυότερος. Τὸ δέ που καὶ Τρῶες ἴσασιν,
οἵ με μέγα τρομέουσι, καὶ ἢν ἀπάτερθεν ἴδωνται·
καὶ δ' αὐτὸς σάφα οἶδας ἐμὸν μένος, ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλλοι,
ἀμφὶ παλαισμοσύνῃ πολυτειρέι πολλὰ μογήσας,

122 Maciver (2012a, 622–623). Calero Secall, on the other hand, interprets the judgment as a clash of value systems, in which Ajax defends ancient heroism and Odysseus the Stoic ideal (1998a, 84–86). I agree with Maciver that Odysseus' plea involves a more all-encompassing vision of heroism, which wants to add something new to an old, not yet rejected quality. Instead, Odysseus seems to argue that words and wit can increase the power of strength.

ὁππότε δὴ περὶ σῆμα δαϊκταμένου Πατρόκλοιο
Πηλείδης ἐρίθυμος ἀγακλυτὰ θῆκεν ἄεθλα.”

Odysseus: Q.S. 5.307–316

“Ajax, I don’t suppose I am any worse than you
In strength as well as in mind, however renowned you are.
My mind is certainly superior to yours
In the eyes of the Argives,[123] while for strength I’m at least your match
Or even more distinguished. That’s something the Trojans know;
They tremble even at the distant sight of me.
You too, as much as any, are well aware of my might
From all the exhausting work you had in our wrestling match,
That time beside the tombs of slain Patroclus
The valiant son of Peleus held his famous games.”

Not only does he cleverly appeal to Ajax’s common sense, thus actually forcing him to admit the legitimacy of Odysseus’ claim, he also summarizes his own worth. The use of the adjective προφερέστερος (Q.S. 5.309) has been discussed above. The last time this word was used before this occurrence was in Nestor’s speech in Q.S. 4.267. The old king there stated that Diomedes and Ajax were equally excellent in strength. Odysseus now not only claims the excellence in spirit for himself, he also—and more remarkably—assumes that his βίη is equal (ἀμφήριστος, Q.S. 5.310) if not superior to Ajax’s. Homer and Quintus typically use the term ἀμφήριστος during the funeral games, for an outcome that could be disputed (*Iliad* 23.382 and 527) or considered a draw (*Posthomerica* 4.197 and 309).[124] Indeed, Odysseus can justify his at first view outrageous claim thanks to the funeral games. As he recalled above, he has recently suffered a wound which prevented him from taking part in any physical contest in Book 4. Back then, Ajax’s superiority was proven among the other contestants, who could or dared not challenge him in the last two games. For Odysseus, however, it was impossible to compete. Therefore, the reason for his not challenging Ajax in Book 4 was a temporary wound and not—necessarily—his inferior strength or his fear. Hence, Odysseus could be regarded as the only Achaean still allowed to challenge Ajax’s strength. As proof, he fittingly recalls their wrestling duel in *Iliad* 23, which ended in a draw (see section 3.2.3). This is the only competition of strength between Ajax and Odysseus available to judge the physical strength

123 Or rather: “and among the other Argives”.

124 These are the only occurrences in Homer and Quintus besides *Posthomerica* 5.310. See also James & Lee (2000, 105).

of both. Odysseus thus presents a clear state of affairs: Ajax's strength against Odysseus' equal power, which is—in addition—reinforced by wit and words. In sum, Odysseus has more to offer. Choosing Odysseus would not imply losing anything Ajax could have offered.

From this point of view, the result of this final competition may seem more justified. Victory is unanimously (ὁμοφρονέοντες) accorded to ἐυπτολέμῳ Ὀδυσῆι (Q.S. 5.320)[125] by the Trojan prisoners of war.[126] Ajax is left stupefied,[127] and with him perhaps even the reader, who still has Books 3 and 4 freshly in mind.[128] The outcome may seem unexpected given the meticulously created suspense in Books 3 and 4. Moreover, this may be a means for Quintus to highlight just how much Ajax's victory would have been seen as common sense in the minds of the Achaeans. Odysseus seems to be the more innovative character here. He has made a cleverer and more convincing impression, whereas Ajax's ancient power is undermined in this new contest. This victory has grave consequences, both in the long term (see the following chapters) and that same night. In reaction to Ajax's defeat, the army groans (Q.S. 5.321). Indeed, as Nestor has anticipated (Q.S. 5.145–150), the loser will not take his defeat well.

125 "Odysseus being the only individual to whom Q. applies ἐ. apart from Achilles" (James & Lee 2000, 107).

126 Aware of the delicacy of this quarrel and in an attempt not to rouse the anger of either of both competitors, the elderly Achaeans (Nestor, Idomeneus and the Atreids) had agreed to appoint their Trojan captives as judges (Nestor: Q.S. 5.157–164). Agamemnon agrees "so that the blame and deadly retribution will be against the warlike Trojans, freeing us from resentment" (Q.S. 5.172–174). In *Odyssey* 11.547, Odysseus states that "the sons of the Trojans and Pallas Athene" were the judges in this debate. For the various versions of this, see Vian (1966 T2, 8–9) and James & Lee (2000, 69–70).

127 For a detailed analysis of Ajax's psychological condition, which is described with remarkable medical detail (Q.S. 5.322–329), see Ozbek (2007, 174–177). Ajax's state is described as ἄτη, for which see also James & Lee (2000, 107–108) and García Romero (1986, 111). Goţia analyses the same passage with attention for the use of dark, light and colours (2008, 97–98).

128 In modern scholarship, opinions about the rightful winner of the judgment differ considerably. Bär interprets Odysseus as a treacherous sophist who deprives Ajax of his rightful victory (2010, 304–308). Maciver describes how Quintus subtly changes sides during the debate: in the Iliadic sense of the word, Ajax is unmistakably ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν. However, since Odysseus surpasses him in the debate, he proves himself a more complete hero (2012a, 622–623). Baumbach, finally, is immediately convinced by Odysseus. He links the latter's speeches to the shield *ekphrasis* earlier in Book 5, to which Odysseus subtly alludes on several occasions. Whereas Ajax only perceives the shield as a useful tool in battle, Odysseus is able to read the images and understand their significance as guidelines for human existence (2007, 119). The Ovidian Odysseus explicitly expresses this ability in *Metamorphoses* 13.288–295.

3.3.3 *The Winner Takes All*

In contrast to the previous games, the contestants cannot now part as friends.[129] Too much was at stake for Ajax to accept this defeat. That night, he does not eat nor sleep,[130] and finally he gets up and arms himself to take revenge, intent on either burning the ships and slaughtering all of the Achaeans or murdering Odysseus (Q.S. 5.352–358). This is ironic, given the fact that Agamemnon had agreed to let Trojan captives judge the debate, in the explicit hope "that the blame and deadly retribution will be against the warlike Trojans, freeing us from resentment" (Agamemnon: Q.S. 5.173–174). Ajax would have succeeded in creating a real catastrophe that night, had Athena not cast Λύσσα on him (Q.S. 5.360). This word is, remarkably, most often used in tragedy.[131] In Homer, on the other hand, it occurs only three times, and always for Hector or Achilles in a state of mad rage on the battlefield.[132] In the *Posthomerica*, the word occurs four times, three of which describe Ajax's madness.[133] Hence, Λύσσα may echo the furious past of the biggest Iliadic heroes, but is more often associated with a tragic state of mind.[134] Ajax goes mad, and the process is described in a remarkable sequence of four similes. The deranged hero is successively compared to a dangerous storm (Q.S. 5.364–370), a foaming and roaring wild beast (Q.S. 5.371–379), a boiling kettle on a fire (Q.S. 5.379–385) and a forest fire (Q.S. 5.386–391).[135] In the entire passage, the verb μαίνομαι occurs

129 E.g. the wrestling and boxing contests, both of which ended in a draw. Ajax and Diomedes were reconciled immediately (Q.S. 4.271). In the case of Epeius and Acamas, a brief moment of negotiation was required (Q.S. 4.375–381).

130 Elsewhere in the *Posthomerica*, the necessity of eating, even in times of mourning, is explicitly stressed: e.g. Q.S. 4.65–70, where the narrator explains why the Achaeans sup despite their grief for Achilles. Of course, it could also recall Achilles' refusal to eat in the *Iliad*. For more Homeric references, see James & Lee (2000, 111).

131 E.g. twice in Euripides' *Bacchae*, six times in his *Hercules* and five times in the *Orestes*.

132 Twice Odysseus describes Hector's fury to Achilles (*Iliad* 9.239 and 305) and the narrator uses the term once for Achilles in battle, not surprisingly during his rage after Patroclus' death (*Iliad* 21.542).

133 Besides here, also in Q.S. 5.405 and 466. The fourth Posthomeric occurrence of the word is found at 12.556 (for Cassandra).

134 On the possible personification of Madness, which is mainly a tragic feature, see James & Lee (2000, 113), Wenglinsky (2002, 84–86) and Vian (1966 T2, 32 n. 2 and 36 n. 1). Calero Secall associates Ajax's behaviour with Sophoclean *hybris* and links the general picture of Ajax's decline with Euripidean descriptions of the same sort (1998a, 87 and n. 33).

135 About the use of similes and comparisons in Book 5 in general, James and Lee observe that all but a few brief images are applied to Ajax, thus highlighting him as the principle character in the book (2000, 19–20). For a general discussion of the effect of this climactic succession of similes, see Spinoula (2008, 285–286).

six times, three of which in the final simile.[136] This presumably indicates that a climax of Ajax's madness has been reached. In the meantime, the emphasis lies on the incredible strength of the hero, not only in the comparantia, but also in the use of explicit terminology. The sequence starts with μεγάλοιο μένος Τελαμωνιάδαο | τρέψεν ἀπ' Ἀργείων ("She turned the wrath of Telamon's mighty son away from the men of Argos", Q.S. 5.363–364) and the μένος of the fire is stirred by the βίη of wind in the final simile (Q.S. 5.387–388). The chosen comparantia are elsewhere associated with warriors on the battlefield.[137] Moreover, two possible Iliadic models are named for these similes (by Vian 1966 T2, 33 n. 1 and 2, and James 2004, 299). The first one is found in *Iliad* 18.318–323, where Achilles mourns Patroclus like a lion for his lost cubs. Similarly, the wild animal in Ajax's second simile has lost his own cubs. The Iliadic image occurs right before the speech in which Achilles announces that he will stay in Troy instead of returning home. Spinoula argues that the Posthomeric comparans is changed into a wild animal in order to fit this simile into a series of three images of θῆρες about Ajax throughout the epic: Achilles and Ajax on the battlefield (Q.S. 1.539), Diomedes and Ajax in the camp during the funeral games (Q.S. 4.220–223) and now here, Ajax in the solitude of the night. According to Spinoula, this pattern betrays an evolution in Ajax's spatial and psychological condition, which now reaches its depth in the most extended image (2008, 286–288). The simile of the boiling cauldron is quite unusual, but a similar image occurs in *Iliad* 21.362–365, describing the river Scamander boiling in Hephaestus' flame. Both images can hence be associated with moments of Achilles' Iliadic anger, and more specifically moments where this anger is about to cause his doom. All in all, these four similes give an impression of uncontrollable violence with a great potential for destruction.[138] Hence, it need not surprise readers that onlookers are terrified

136 Q.S. 5.369, 377, 381, 386, 388, 391 and once more in the same book: 416 (Menelaus about Ajax). In itself, the verb μαίνομαι is not unusual in the *Posthomerica* (36 occurrences), unlike in Homer (19 times in the *Iliad* and 4 in the *Odyssey*) and Apollonius (none). The noun μανίη is even rarer, with only one occurrence in Quintus (Q.S. 5.452, still for Ajax's madness) and none in Homer and Apollonius. Both cognates are more common in tragedy. James and Lee provide a more thorough linguistic interpretation of the individual usages of the verb in Book 5 (2000, 115–116).

137 E.g. shorter comparisons of a storm (λαῖλαψ) for Achilles (Q.S. 2.548) and of the fury of fire stirred by wind for Penthesilea (Q.S. 1.209–210, also with μαίνομαι). Further references in Vian (1963 T1, 20 n. 4), James & Lee (2000, 118) and James (2004, 299). Kneebone observes that after Achilles' death, Ajax is compared to fire with increasing frequency, and that this fire stands for a physical strength that evolves into an excessive passion and eventually dooms its own cause (2007, 299).

138 Overall, Vian deprecates the passage about Ajax's insanity. He finds that the excessive use of similes only serves to cloud the horror of the situation and that, if deprived of these

(Q.S. 5.393–394), and quite rightfully so. At dawn, and after a short digression on Hera's occupations, which temporarily breaks the suspense, only to increase it afterwards (Q.S. 5.395–402), the devil in Ajax breaks loose. He attacks a flock of sheep like a "sturdy-hearted lion"[139] and his victims fall like leaves (Q.S. 5.406–412). Both similes evoke a battle context: it seems as if Ajax is out fighting a war. Only now, his intended victims are Achaeans and not Trojans (Q.S. 5.412).[140] The lion is of course a common image for valiant heroes. In Ajax's case, however, this valour turns into a madness with similar power. The same evolution can be noted in the four lion images used for him throughout the *Posthomerica*. This is the final one, and like his first lion simile (shared with Achilles in Q.S. 1.524–528), his victims are depicted as sheep. Only now, the sheep are not only the comparans but also—and quite ironically—the comparandum, reflecting reality. Ajax's heroic world seems to merge with the world of similes, which makes the entire situation somewhat surreal (Spinoula 2008, 28, 31–32). The lion goes mad, and the Achaean chiefs stand by and watch as "the only bulwark left with Aeacus' grandson dead" (Menelaus: Q.S. 5.423–424) is lost to them.

Meanwhile, the shepherds have to hide like hares from an eagle (Q.S. 5.435–438). This is the third time the eagle comparans is used for Ajax in the *Posthomerica*. As noted by Spinoula, no other individual in the epic is compared to that same bird. Also, Ajax is the Posthomeric character most associated with birds of prey in general. The earlier eagle images featured in Ajax's *aristeia* (Q.S. 3.353–355) and in Ajax's speech, when he seems to refer back to that *aristeia* in an exaggerated way (Q.S. 5.298–299).[141] In relation to that second image, Spinoula considers this third simile particularly ironical, since the eagle has now evolved from a "status of superiority", claimed by Ajax himself, to one of "insanity" (2008, 174–176). Rather than ironic, however, I would call this evolution tragic.[142] The image of the eagle intrinsically implies a preservation of Ajax's superior strength (Vian 1966 T2, 15), even in this collapsing situation. If Spinoula suggests that Ajax takes over Achilles' place even in comparantia as the lion and the bird of prey, to incarnate "the archetypal hero in the Greek

images, the scene of Ajax's insanity would be very poor and unoriginal (1966 T2, 15–16). This is contested by James and Lee, who correctly indicate the essential function of these similes in Ajax's powerful and climax-based characterization (2000, 112).

139 The epithet for the lion is ὀβριμόθυμος. As noted above in footnote 85, this adjective is repeatedly used for Ajax as a valiant warrior. To apply the same word to his mad fury recalls his incredible strength, which now becomes a threat to his fellow Achaeans.

140 Again, this ironically contradicts Agamemnon's hope earlier in Book 5 (see footnote 126).

141 For a detailed discussion on the use of bird imagery for Ajax, see section 3.2.2. Homeric references also in Vian (1966 T2, 35 n. 3) and James & Lee (2000, 125).

142 James and Lee find that Ajax in Book 5 "virtually fulfils the role of tragic hero" (2000, 14).

camp" (2008, 175), it could thus be argued that not only Ajax is falling apart, but with him also the 'heroic kind' he belongs to and which he represents. Books 3 to 5 have witnessed both final demonstrations of power of two Iliadic heavyweights and their falls. A climax is reached when Ajax kills a ram and addresses it in an aggressive triumph speech which recalls, among other past speeches, those of Achilles to Penthesilea and Thersites in Book 1 (Q.S. 5.441–448).[143]

As soon as Athena takes away his Μανίῃ, Ajax is as stupefied as a mountain (Q.S. 5.461–462). This time, the cause of his perplexity is his own behaviour. He curses the Achaean army, Agamemnon, his own underestimated heroic value and especially Odysseus:

"'Ἀλλὰ τί μοι στυγεροῖσι μετέμμεναι ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα;
Ἐρρέτω Ἀργείων ὀλοὸς στρατός· ἐρρέτω αἰὼν
ἄσχετος. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἐσθλὸς ἔχει γέρας, ἀλλὰ χερείων
τιμήεις τε πέλει καὶ φίλτερος· ἦ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
τίετ' ἐν Ἀργείοισιν, ἐμεῦ δ' ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθοντο
ἔργων ⟨θ'⟩ ὁππόσ' ἔρεξα καὶ ἔτλην εἵνεκα λαῶν"

Ajax: Q.S. 5.476–481

"But why, if I'm truly brave, should I stay with those I hate?
Begone the cursed Argive army! Begone the life
I cannot endure! The brave are no longer rewarded; base men
Are honored now and preferred. And so Odysseus
Is honored among the Argives, while they have no thought
Of all that I have achieved and suffered for the army."

He twice names himself an ἐσθλός, as opposed to Odysseus, who is a "lesser man" (χερείων).[144] Since the likes of him are now honoured with glory and gifts, Ajax feels that his own worth is no longer sufficiently esteemed. Hence, his participation in this war and even his life are now pointless. Ajax may suffer from the shame for his recent deeds, but the final part of his speech also denounces a failure of the system he believed in. Ajax had clearly defined his view on heroism in the debate, and based it on the formidable strength of men like Achilles

143 For example, it starts off with the same phrase: κεῖσό νυν ἐν κονίῃσι (Ajax: Q.S. 5.441, see also Chapter 2 footnote 70 for two other occurrences). Further discussion on this unusual addition to the Ajax tradition by James & Lee (2000, 17 and 125–126).

144 Ajax's exasperation that no γέρας is accorded to the ἐσθλός (that is to himself) obviously recalls the essence of Achilles' wrath at the beginning of the *Iliad* as well. Again, this implicit parallel seems to enhance the resemblance between the heroes.

and himself. Power alone seems not to suffice anymore and has even betrayed him in his madness. As his final resource, the πάις ἐσθλὸς ἐυσθενέος Τελαμῶνος (Q.S. 5.482) commits suicide, leaving a world in which he feels he no longer belongs.

Only when he no longer poses a threat do the Achaeans dare to approach Ajax's body. This reaction strongly resembles the suspicion of the Trojans immediately after Achilles' death (compare Q.S. 3.179–185) and indicates how similar both heroes are, even in their last moments. Vian points out that the mourning and funeral rites for Ajax in the final part of Book 5 show ample and clear parallels to those of Achilles in Book 3, exactly to stress the similar impact of their respective deaths. Elements that are repeatedly mentioned are the laments of Teucer (Q.S. 5.500–520) and Tecmessa (Q.S. 5.521–558), mirroring those of Phoenix and Briseis in Book 3, and the huge size of both corpses, which is also reflected in the impressiveness of their respective pyres (Q.S. 3.665–742 and 5.612–656). There are similar complaints by Agamemnon in both passages (Q.S. 3.491–503 and 5.560–568). In Book 5, moreover, he finishes with the observation that "all the countless armies of our enemies were unable to kill him in battle" (Agamemnon: Q.S. 5.566–567), either referring to Ajax's temporary invulnerability in 1.566–567 (as suggested by James & Lee 2000, 141), or establishing one more implicit parallel with Achilles: neither hero is killed by another mortal. Only forces that match their own were able to achieve that: in Achilles' case a god, in Ajax's case his own strength. The lament of the Nereids (Q.S. 5.338–344) also suggests similar grief for both heroes (Goţia 2008, 96).[145] Most remarkably, the Achaeans give Ajax an honourable funeral. This means that they do not blame him for his final actions. Traditions differ on this matter. An important contra-voice is found in Sophocles' *Ajax*, where the Achaeans do debate the guilt of Ajax.[146] The Posthomeric version is more in line with *Odyssey* 11, where nothing indicates a negative judgment of Ajax *post mortem* (*Odyssey* 11.543–564). The Homeric Odysseus recounts details that match Quintus' story, such as his wish that he had never won the prize (11.548, compare to Q.S. 5.577–588), the judgment by Trojans (11.547)[147] and the divine rather than

145 More detailed correspondences can be found in the studies of Vian (1966 T2, 37 n. 4 et. al., 39 n. 2, 40 n. 4 and 42 n. 5), James & Lee (2000, 133–134, 150–151, 153–154 et. al.) and Boyten (2010, 125–126).

146 Inevitably, this tragedy has been taken into account as a possible source for *Posthomerica* 5 by several previous studies, including the commentaries of Vian (1966 T2, 37 n. 1, 38 n. 4, 39 n. 1, 40 n. 1 et. al.) and James & Lee (2000). Their general impression is that Quintus may have looked at Sophocles, but that any reworking of that source must have happened rather freely (Vian 1966 T2, 14–17, James & Lee 2000, 10 and Lelli ed. 2013, xlviii).

147 The Trojans are the only judges in the *Posthomerica*, though Odysseus mentions a contri-

human responsibility for this disaster (11.558–559; Vian 1966 T2, 41 n. 3).[148] Most of all, Odysseus' responsibility for Ajax's anger is more frequently discussed—and contested—in the *Posthomerica* (οὐκ αἴτιος). This happens, for example, in Ajax's own words (quoted above), but also in the conversation between Agamemnon and Menelaus during Ajax's fury (Q.S. 5.419–421 and 428–431) and especially during Odysseus' own lament (Q.S. 5.571–598). This latter speech rather sounds like an apology, and involves an important condemnation of anger in general (χόλος is used three times). Despite the rather gnomic wordings and circumstantial references in Odysseus' speech, and the fact that he avoids any direct disapproval of Ajax, his overall message clearly denounces such behaviour. James and Lee's statement that it remains unsure if Odysseus is aware of his implicit misjudgment of Ajax's values (2000, 146) seems to me rather implausible, given the substantial echoes of the events earlier in Book 5 in Odysseus' words. It seems as if the narrator lets Odysseus engage with previous passages from the narrator text, to establish a link with Ajax's final moments: πάις ἐσθλὸς ἐυσθενέος Τελαμῶνος (Q.S. 5.580) literally echoes the narrator's words, as Ajax was about to commit suicide in line 482. Later on in line 594, Odysseus again acknowledges that Ajax was an ἐσθλός, as the hero himself had claimed in his last speech (quoted above). Odysseus, however, twists the argument around: although Ajax was an ἐσθλός, the hero could not control passions which a πινυτός man should have been able to bear. After all, they were only engaged in an honourable contest about ἀρετή (Q.S. 5.589–597). Calero Secall interprets this as a Stoic lesson: Ajax represents an example of bad Stoic practice and, in return, Odysseus' words are magnanimous and humble (1998a, 88–89; for further discussion of Odysseus' use of gnomes, see also Maciver 2012b, 110). All in all, scholarship has repeatedly raised questions about the exact meaning of Odysseus' speech.[149] It should particularly be noted that the current situation in Book 5 is still rather unstable: Ajax has just died, and although Odysseus is no longer actually blamed, his recent victory may need some legitimation. In this context, Odysseus' own manipulative abilities should not be forgotten. By avoiding any direct attack on the greatly mourned Ajax, but still circumstantially criticizing his behaviour, Odysseus stabilizes his own

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bution by Athena as well. In the *Posthomerica*, however, Athena is explicitly named as the goddess who casts madness on Ajax, in order to protect Odysseus (Q.S. 5.360–362), and takes it away again as well (Q.S. 5.451–452).

148 For thorough discussion on the role of 'doppelte Motivation' in Ajax's madness, see Gärtner (2014, 113–119).

149 In his contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016, Maciver underlined that Odysseus' words "evoke the philosophy of the *Posthomerica*", especially in his reference to *arete* and his final gnome.

position without direct insolence towards the dead. Still, it resounds through Odysseus' words, Ajax should have known better …[150]

Odysseus thus definitively manifests himself as the advocate of a new heroic tendency, in which the mind will support (brainless) strength. On the other hand, however, no explicit judgment is expressed of Ajax's (mis)behaviour at the end of his life, though Quintus could easily have chosen to follow one of the existing traditions in which he is punished for this *post mortem*. It is significant that, as in Homer, Ajax's greatness is acknowledged even in his death. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus twice recalled how Ajax was the greatest of Achaeans after Achilles (11.550–551) and how Ajax was mourned as much as Achilles (11.556–557). This last part is precisely what *Posthomerica* 5 aims to highlight. The close parallel between the funerals of Achilles and Ajax serves to stress the similar and immense impacts of their loss. As the greatest of the Achaeans, their deaths cause a dangerous emptiness in the Achaean ranks at the end of Book 5 (Vian 1966 T2, 16–17 and James 2004, 300). This is explicitly confirmed in the telling last words of this book:

> Αὐτίκα δ' ἐσκίδναντο πολυσκάρθμους ἐπὶ νῆας
> θυμὸν ἀκηχέμενοι· τὸν γὰρ τίον ἶσον Ἀχιλλεῖ.
> (…)
> αἰνῶς γὰρ φοβέοντο κατὰ φρένα μή σφισι Τρῶες
> νυκτὸς ἐπέλθωσιν Τελαμωνιάδαο θανόντος.
> Q.S. 5.657–663

> Thereat they scattered among the ships that leap the waves
> Stricken with grief for one they had honored no less than Achilles.
> (…)
> Their minds were filled with fear that during the night the Trojans
> Might attack them now that Telamon's son was dead.

Ajax is the second and final Iliadic bulwark the Achaeans lose. The next book is the start of a new episode of the Trojan War, which is no longer dominated by the (old) Aeacids. Hence, *Posthomerica* 5 ends in strong dramatic suspense (James & Lee 2000, 17–18) and simultaneously announces a transition to a new heroic focus, where the key to victory (also) lies in Odysseus' hands.

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150 In the next books, Odysseus takes advantage of his position as the winner (and only survivor) of the judgment to subtly manipulate his account of the events. See section 3.4.

3.4 Towards a Posthomeric Future: Who Will Win?

This chapter has investigated how the Homeric Achilles and Ajax are brought to their ends in a new Trojan epic. The ostentatiously Iliadic precedent of their characterization is developed into a sad climax. Whereas earlier studies such as Mansur's (1940, followed by James & Lee 2000, 13–15) believe in a mere idealization of Homeric characters by Quintus, more recent studies, including my own, have argued that the behaviour of neither of the three principal heroes in *Posthomerica* 3 to 5 could be called ideal.[151] Rather, their characterization has been adapted to better support the heroic beliefs they cherish. Moreover, the context in which Achilles and Ajax find themselves forces them into more extreme behaviour, which eventually explodes into extreme results: both become victims of their own power, which was always their heroic strength, or 'speciality'. After his Iliadic wrath, Achilles takes up arms again, but is inevitably marked by the loss of Patroclus. His power grows until it finally exceeds the appropriate measure. In the *Posthomerica*, Achilles' death is the explicit result of his boundless rage, which in turn results from the choice he made in the *Iliad*. Ajax rises from Achilles' ashes and presents himself as a second unmatchable Iliadic hero. His characterization is based on a similarity to Achilles, which stems from the past and evolves into an even closer assimilation during his final moments of glory—and of madness. His excessive power, once a blessing, turns into a curse as Odysseus shows up. Book 5 makes debatable what thus far was taken for granted: the heroic power of Ajax and Achilles is compared to other heroic ideas defended by Odysseus. Words and wit are now acknowledged to be useful contributions to existing power, but Ajax holds onto his old beliefs and cannot cope with their defeat. His anger pulls him into a downward spiral of aggression, in which he loses control of his excessive power, leading to his doom. With Achilles and Ajax, it could be stated, part of the *Iliad* dies. The *Posthomerica* now moves on to a new episode, in which Odysseus, the only victorious hero at the end of Book 5, plays an important role: his wit and his words will bring Achilles' son Neoptolemus to Troy. Odysseus himself has foreseen

151 Opinions widely differ on Odysseus' characterization. Mansur (1940, 30) and James & Lee (2000, 14) find that Quintus is not affected by the later tendencies to depict this character negatively. Bär argues that Odysseus in Book 5 is a sophist (2010, 303–304). Maciver finds that, despite clear indications of deceit during Odysseus' speech, Quintus' representation of both him and Ajax does not contradict Homer's version: "Thus, far from being idealised, or censured as a sophist, Odysseus reflects what he has always reflected—deceit and cunning—while Ajax keeps to his reputation of being a man of brawn rather than brains" (2012a, 610; more references on the topic ibid. 609 n. 44; my own interpretation in section 5.1 footnote 36).

that he would be of use, and expressed this in the very speeches with which he defeated Ajax:

> “(…) Ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄλλου
> ἥρωος χρειώ τις ἐν Ἀργείοισι πέληται,
> οὐδ’ ὅ γε χερσὶ τεῇσιν ἐλεύσεται οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλων
> Ἀργείων βουλῇσιν, ἐγὼ δέ ἑ μοῦνος Ἀχαιῶν
> ἄξω μειλιχίοισι παραυδήσας ἐπέεσσι
> δῆριν ἐς αἰζηῶν. Μέγα γὰρ κράτος ἀνδράσι μῦθος”
>
> Odysseus: Q.S. 5.257–262

> “(…) If need
> Of any other champion is felt by the men of Argos,
> Neither will your hands make him come nor will the advice
> Of any other Argives. I am the only Achaean
> Who will bring him with soothing and persuasive words
> To join our battles. Great is the power of speech with men”[152]

That these are not idle words will be repeatedly proven in the following books (Vian 1966 T2, 28 n. 5 and Schmitz 2007, 70). Odysseus will look back to his moment of triumph when he is about to convince Neoptolemus to come to Troy:

> “καί οἱ ἀποκταμένοιο νέκυν ποτὶ νῆας ἔνεικα
> πολλοῖς δυσμενέεσσιν ἀνηλέα πότμον ὀπάσσας·
> τοὔνεκά μοι κείνοιο περικλυτὰ τεύχεα δῶκε
> δῖα Θέτις· τὰ δ’ ἄρ’ αὖτις ἐελδόμενός περ ἔγωγε
> δώσω προφρονέως, ὁπότ’ Ἴλιον εἰσαφίκηαι.”
>
> Odysseus: Q.S. 7.208–212

> “When he [Achilles] was killed, I carried his body to the ships,
> After dealing a merciless doom to many a foe.
> That’s why his famous armor was awarded to me
> By the goddess Thetis. But I am only too willing
> To hand it over to you when you arrive at Ilion.”

152 The Ovidian Odysseus was even more explicit about his promise for the future of the Trojan War: see for example “on that night I gained the victory over Troy; at that moment did I conquer Pergama when I made it possible to conquer her” (Odysseus: *Metamorphoses* 13.348–349).

Odysseus sticks to his version of the facts and omits Ajax completely. His victory in Book 5 has given him that legitimacy. In Book 7, Odysseus proves that his promises were not idle: he will bring back Neoptolemus, and this is not his last crucial contribution to the war.[153] In the case of Neoptolemus, however, another aspect of Book 5 returns: the armour which Odysseus had won and which, according to Ajax, would never fit him, hence could never serve him properly (Q.S. 5.224–228), is now put to good use in Odysseus' hands. Instead of keeping the prize to himself, he presents it as an important argument to persuade Neoptolemus to come to Troy.[154]

With Achilles and Ajax dead, a new champion would indeed be more than welcome for the Achaeans. Neoptolemus has repeatedly been announced as that successor. As Boyten states: "Achilles' pre-eminence is particularly suggested in Ajax and Neoptolemus" (2010, 137). Indeed, Book 5 may have meant the end of two Iliadic heroes, but their power is not completely lost. On the contrary, the strength of Odysseus' claim lays in the all-encompassing nature of the heroic view he promotes: his intention was not to replace strength with words, but merely to achieve increased power by reconciling both heroic aspects. In the next book, and the following chapters of this monograph, Neoptolemus appears as a new hero in this new heroic context.

153 For the Trojan Horse, see Chapter 5.

154 Earlier in his speech, Odysseus gave a short, adapted description of the shield as well (Q.S. 7.195–206). For references, see section 4.2.1.1 footnote 70.

CHAPTER 4

Neoptolemus, a New Aeacid in the Field

> He said: “Go dry your eyes and live your life
> like there is no tomorrow, son.”[1]

It has been carefully prophesied from Achilles’ death onwards: his heir will soon take his place on the Trojan battlefield. This heir is his son Neoptolemus, a character barely known from Homer. With the introduction of Neoptolemus into his own narrative, Quintus thus treads fairly new ground, at least from a Homeric perspective. He makes use of considerably little direct Homeric reference material to give shape to his version of the son of Achilles. The most substantial reference to the next generation in the Aeacid line by Homer is found in a conversation that takes place in the Underworld:

“ἦ τοι ὅτ’ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τροίην φραζοίμεθα βουλάς,
αἰεὶ πρῶτος ἔβαζε καὶ οὐχ ἡμάρτανε μύθων·
Νέστωρ δ’ ἀντίθεος καὶ ἐγὼ νικάσκομεν οἴω.
αὐτὰρ ὅτ’ ἐν πεδίῳ Τρώων μαρναίμεθ’ Ἀχαιοί,
οὔ ποτ’ ἐνὶ πληθυῖ μένεν ἀνδρῶν οὐδ’ ἐν ὁμίλῳ,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, τὸ ὃν μένος οὐδενὶ εἴκων·
πολλοὺς δ’ ἄνδρας ἔπεφνεν ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι.”

Odysseus: *Odyssey* 11.510–516

“And in truth, as often as we took counsel around the city of Troy, he was always the first to speak, and never erred in his words; godlike Nestor and I alone surpassed him. But as often as we fought with the bronze on the Trojan plain, he would never remain behind in the throng or press of men, but would run forward far to the front, yielding to none in his prowess; and many men he slew in dreadful combat.”

1 “Heroes”—Måns Zelmerlöw.

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In *Odyssey* 11, Odysseus encounters the spirit of Achilles and describes to him how his son became a worthy champion in the Trojan War. This is also the oldest attestation of Neoptolemus known to us.[2] Homer's short description has launched Neoptolemus, or 'Pyrrhus', as he is called in later traditions,[3] into history as a valiant hero worthy of honour. Ever since, many other sources have revived his myth. It is impossible to provide an exhaustive list of literary attestations. The words, expressions and phrases used to indicate 'Neoptolemus' are quite varied, and widely spread over the Latin and Greek literary traditions, in both poetry and prose.[4] Therefore, I have narrowed down this immense scope to (epic) hexametrical and tragic sources, which have most vividly brought to life the son of Achilles.[5] Besides short references in Homer and the Epic Cycle,[6] Neoptolemus of course takes part in Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion*.[7] Moreover, he figures in several Greek tragedies, of which his key role in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

2 Besides this longer fragment in the *Odyssey* and a few briefer references to Achilles' son elsewhere in the same epic (*Odyssey* 3.188–189 and 4.5–9), Achilles also makes mention of his son in the *Iliad*, when he sighs that neither the death of his father, nor that of his son Neoptolemus in Scyrus (*Iliad* 19.326–327) could hurt him as much as Patroclus' death.

3 The two names are used in both Latin and Greek. Examples are provided in footnote 137.

4 Neoptolemus is not only referred to by his own two names, but also by the common description 'son of Achilles'. This expression, in all its possible wordings, is complicated to trace. In the overview that follows, text references are limited to occurrences of 'Pyrrhus' and 'Neoptolemus', unless otherwise stated.

5 Toledano Vargas (2002, 19–20). Besides those, however, it should not be forgotten that Neoptolemus occasionally appears in other texts as well. A few remarkable cases include Pindar's *Odes* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. Neoptolemus occurs in Lucian and Dio Chrysostom and—interestingly for us—Philostratus takes a comparative stand about the prowess of Achilles: he states that Neoptolemus could never match his father entirely (*Heroicus* 52.2). These texts in themselves are not taken into account for what follows, but Philostratus certainly raises an intriguing point, which deserves further investigation in what follows.

6 According to secondary sources that refer to the Cycle, Neoptolemus is mentioned in the *Cypria* when his father hides on Scyrus (e.g. Pausanias' *Description of Greece* 10.26.4 and a scholion to *Iliad* 19.326, both cited in footnote 137), in the *Ilias Parva* for his duel with Eurypylus (e.g. Proclus, *Chrestomathia, suppleta ex Apollod. epit.* 5.6–16, 3) and other slaughter, including the murders of Priam (e.g. Pausanias' *Description of Greece* 10.25.5–27.2) and Astyanax (e.g. Tzetzes, *Commentary on Lycophron* 1268), in the *Ilioupersis* for the fate of Priam, Andromache and Polyxena (e.g. Proclus, ibid. 5.16–25) and in the *Nostoi* for his return home (e.g. Proclus, ibid. 6.1–30).

7 He is explicitly named three times: in lines 153, 157 and 634, during the catalogue of heroes and the murder of Priam. The characterization of Neoptolemus in the *Sack of Ilion* is interesting comparative material for Quintus' representation of the same hero. This is discussed in the excursus to section 5.2.

is the most famous example.[8] Finally, he is a recurring character in Latin (hexameter) poetry. He repeatedly occurs in Vergil's *Aeneid*,[9] Ovid[10] and Seneca Minor's tragedies.[11] Through the course of history, Neoptolemus gradually turns into a cruel warrior without mercy.[12] This typically negative characterization seems mainly to be inspired by his performances in Vergil's *Aeneid*, in particular his cruel murder of Priam (*Aeneid* 2.547–558). The focus in earlier, mainly Greek sources may be more nuanced in general,[13] but even here a particular slant becomes apparent not long after the first attestations. Homer and (probably) the *Ilias Parva* describe Neoptolemus as a valiant warrior, but after these first epic appearances, the oldest accounts known to us mainly focus on Neoptolemus after the battles around Troy, namely during the Sack, in its aftermath and after his return home.[14] All in all, then, Neoptolemus is mostly remembered for his bloody murders of Priam, Astyanax and Polyxena, his capturing of Andromache and his own rather unworthy death. In Quintus, however, these episodes are part of a larger story and a more detailed characterization of Neoptolemus.

With the deaths of Achilles and Ajax, a first narrative episode of the *Posthomerica* is finished. What follows is undeniably the most coherent part of the epic. Even more than the previous books, *Posthomerica* 6 to 8 build upon each other to introduce Achilles' son Neoptolemus as the new Achaean cham-

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8 This tragedy has certainly influenced Neoptolemus' characterization in the *Posthomerica* (Vian 1959, 45 and Bezantakos 1992). His part in this play is discussed in section 5.1. Furthermore, Neoptolemus is also mentioned in Euripides' *Andromache* (as her new master, he is repeatedly evoked as a character in the background; only once by name: line 14) and—briefly—in Euripides' *Orestes* (line 1655), *Troades* (line 1126) and *Hecuba* (never by name, only once "the son of Achilles", line 24). Finally, a few Greek tragedies which have only fragmentarily been transmitted might also have dealt with Neoptolemus, or (possibly) have had him as a character (such as Sophocles' *Scyrians*, *Andromache*, *Hermione* and *Peleus*), but the evidence is far from conclusive.

9 Books 2, about the Sack of Troy, and 3, where Aeneas meets Andromache, who was abducted by Neoptolemus.

10 Most relevant are his mentions in *Metamorphoses* 13 (in Odysseus' speech to Ajax and during Polyxena's sacrifice) and *Heroides* III (Briseis to Achilles) and VIII (Hermione to Orestes). For exact references, see footnote 137.

11 Pyrrhus is a character in his *Troades* and is mentioned in his *Agamemnon* (lines 512, 636, 657).

12 Traditions that stress this specifically cruel portrayal are listed by Boyten (2007, 314–315).

13 E.g. in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, Neoptolemus is presented as a more moderate and compassionate youth.

14 An exception might have been the lost tragedy *Eurypylus* (attributed to Sophocles), but it is far from certain that Neoptolemus actually figured in that play (Page 1941, 17; for transmitted fragments, see Lloyd-Jones 1996, 82–95).

TABLE 4 Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*, detail

Book	Verses	Length	%	What?	*See chapter*
3	118–122; 753–765	18	2.3%	Anticipation of Hera; Divine horses	*4.1.1*
4	169–170	2	0.3%	Anticipation Nestor	*4.1.1*
6	59–113	55	8.5%	Embassy leaves	*4.1.1*
7	169–411	243	77.3%	Scyrus	*4.2.1.1*
	412–630	219		First battle	*4.2.2.1*
	630–734	105		Welcome	*4.2.1.2*
8	1–133	133	100%	Before the duel	*4.2.2.2*
	134–216	83		Duel with Eurypylus	*4.2.2.2*
	217–504	288		After Eurypylus	*4.4*
9	1–65	65	56.6%	Morning; grave of Achilles	*4.2.2.2*
	80–323	244		Battle with Deiphobus	*4.2.3*
10	84–96	13	2.7%	12 Trojans killed	*4.2.3*
11	20–40; 215–242; 345–351; 433–435	59	11.8%	Battle scenes	*4.2.3*
12	66–100; 274–305; 314–315	69	11.8%	Trojan Horse: assemblies; catalogue of heroes	*5*
13	213–250	38	6.8%	Priam killed	*6.2.2*
14	21; 137; 179–314	138	21%	Praise; epiphany of Achilles; sacrifice of Polyxena	*7.2*

pion.[15] The coherence of these books lies in their overarching plot structure. An embassy to Scyrus is sent on its way at the beginning of *Posthomerica* 6, but will only arrive in Scyrus in Book 7. In the meantime, Eurypylus comes to Troy and is firmly established as the new Trojan saviour. He will only confront Neoptolemus on the latter's second fighting day, in *Posthomerica* 8. This is the most prominent episode for Achilles' son in the *Posthomerica*, but his arrival

15 Even scholars who otherwise would rather perceive each book as an independent episode agree on this. E.g. Keydell (1963, 1293 and 1954, 255; followed by Mazza in Lelli ed. 2013, 758).

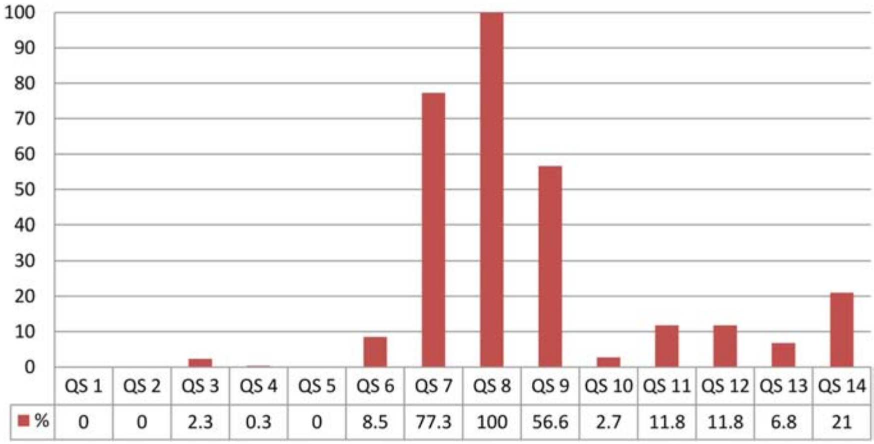

FIGURE 4 Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*, prominence per book (%)
Note: The sum of all verses about Neoptolemus per book (such as calculated in Table 4) divided by the total number of verses in each book (multiplied by 100, to obtain the percentages).

is repeatedly foreshadowed and he remains an important Achaean player after Eurypylus' death and until the Sack of Troy is completed. Thus, Neoptolemus is, along with his father, one of the most omnipresent characters of the epic.[16] Unsurprisingly, then, his heroic performances are of recurrent interest for the scope of this study. However, the vast amount of story material about Neoptolemus within the *Posthomerica* cannot be treated in just one chapter. The table and figure above provide a reader's guide for Neoptolemus, detailing all Posthomeric episodes in which he figures and the places in my monograph where they are discussed.[17]

Compared to the rest of the literary tradition, Quintus attributes an unusually large role to the son of Achilles, with an equally unusual focus on his

16 From this point of view, it would indeed seem right to call father and son the combined protagonists of the *Posthomerica*. This is a recurrent suggestion in Quintus scholarship: see already Paschal (1904, 65–66, cited in Sodano 1947, 53); more recently e.g. Toledano Vargas (2002, 20) and James (2004, xxx). Sodano goes further than most, and finds that the three Aeacids, including Ajax Major, together are the most prominent characters (1947, 53). Mansur finds Neoptolemus unable to dominate the plot (1940, 4–5).

17 Neoptolemus may not be present in every verse, but his influence in the quoted passages is never far away. For Books 8 and 9, I have included the entire battle scene because of Neoptolemus' overall domination, even if he sometimes is out of sight. In Books 10 and 11, he is not more prominent than other heroes. For these books, I have only cited the passages in which he actually appears. A more detailed overview of Neoptolemus' appearances in the *Posthomerica* is provided by Toledano Vargas (2002, 20–30).

activities in battle.[18] Given the contents of his epic, Quintus does not have much of a choice, but neither does he have many precedents to draw inspiration from. The fact that Achilles' son—as far as we know—seldom appears on the battlefield in later literature leaves Odysseus' tale in *Odyssey* 11 in a narrative vacuum, to which the *Posthomerica* is one of the few (surviving) poems to respond. In light of the tradition, then, the exercise of portraying Neoptolemus as an active fighter on the battlefield is less self-evident. The fact that Quintus does so, and quite extensively too, results in an exceptionally complete version of the character of Neoptolemus. Unlike many earlier versions, Neoptolemus' battlefield personality in Quintus has to tie in with his more famous deeds during the Sack and in the aftermath. I limit Chapter 4 to a study of Neoptolemus' character during his time on the battlefield, and investigate how the image of Achilles' son as a warrior is established in Books 7 to 11. This characterization later influences the description of his most 'canonical' deeds in Books 12 to 14, which are discussed in the following chapters. As can be seen in Figure 4, Neoptolemus is most prominent immediately after his arrival, during the duel with Eurypylus and in its immediate aftermath. This period is crucial for the development of his character, and also influences his later actions. These episodes are the main focus of Chapter 4. After a brief overview of how his arrival is foreshadowed, both in prophecies and in the arrival of his antagonist Eurypylus (section 4.1), section 4.2 focuses on the first appearance of the young hero, his arrival in Troy, his establishment as a battle champion and his role in the further fights around and under the city wall. This extensive analysis is concluded with an overview of a few general observations about his characterization in section 4.3, and the run-up to his role in the Sack of Troy in section 4.4. All of these findings are—again—primarily based on an intra-textual analysis of the *Posthomerica*, where possible related to Homer. Despite the observed paucity of references to Neoptolemus in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there is more material for comparison in Homer than might be expected. In Quintus' representation of the son, the father is never forgotten. Hence, Achilles is an inevitable reference character throughout this analysis. Although the heroes never met in life, there is a strong relationship between father and son which influences the heroic characterization of both. Neoptolemus lives up to the memory of Achilles, and the appearance of the son invites a re-evaluation of the heroic life of the late father. This is an inevitable theme throughout the following analysis.[19]

18 See also Toledano Vargas (2002, 30–31).

19 As one of the principal characters of the *Posthomerica*, Neoptolemus has inevitably been the the subject of several studies before, especially Bezantakos (1992), Calero Secall (1995a and 1998b), Toledano Vargas (2002), Boyten (2007 and 2010, chapter IV) and Langella (2016

4.1 Great Expectations

4.1.1 *Looking Forward to Neoptolemus*

Neoptolemus is expected long before he first appears in *Posthomerica* 7. His arrival is foreshadowed from the death of Achilles in *Posthomerica* 3 onward. Prophecies and other anticipations thus establish a few essential aspects of this character in expectation of his arrival. Hera is the first to look forward to that moment,[20] distressed by the impending death of Achilles: "I don't think the Trojans' labor will be lighter for the fall of Aeacus' grandson, because his son shall very soon come from Scyrus to help the Argives in this harsh and bitter conflict, in his strength his father's equal, bringing disaster to many a foe" (Q.S. 3.118–122). Not much later, Achilles alludes to the future activities of his battle gear, even after his own death (see also section 3.1):

> "Ἆ δειλοὶ Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι, οὐδὲ θανόντος
> ἔγχος ἐμὸν φεύξεσθε ἀμείλιχον, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
> τίσετε αἰνὸν ὄλεθρον Ἐριννύσιν ἡμετέρῃσιν."
>
> Achilles: Q.S. 3.167–169

> "You cowardly Trojans, Dardanians, even when I'm dead
> You won't escape my merciless spear; the lot of you
> Will pay the price of death to my avenging spirits."

Although his wordings are less explicit than Hera's, Achilles' focus specifically on the continued threat of his spear indeed touches upon a significant aspect of Neoptolemus' inheritance (see section 4.2.2.2). The same goes for other parts of his armour, and most specifically his divine horses, whose presence adds

and forthcoming). An important focus of this scholarship—save, perhaps, Bezantakos—has been Neoptolemus' idealization, sometimes explained by Stoic influences, but always in close relation to his Achilles-like representation. I find this focus on idealization hazardous, as it risks to overlook certain other, less perfect tendencies in Neoptolemus' characterization. My position in this debate is made more explicit in section 4.3.3. Neoptolemus' characterization by means of similes and intertextuality has already been investigated by Maciver (2012b, 171–195). A brief preview of my own character analysis of Neoptolemus was published in 2015.

20 As James rightfully indicates, this grants divine authority to the first prophecy about Neoptolemus (2004, 283). Duckworth has noticed that Quintus' gods make relatively few forecasts, given their increased submission to Fate (1936, 64–65; more about Fate in Chapter 7). Interventions like this one by Hera are relatively rare in the *Posthomerica* (see Duckworth 1936, 5 n. 27 for an overview), hence all the more remarkable.

to the anticipation: after Achilles' funeral, the grieving horses stay in Troy to await Neoptolemus, who will be their fourth master. In the account of their own descent and the lineages of their previous owners, Neoptolemus' name is mentioned for the first time in the *Posthomerica*, and simultaneously placed in the grand family tradition of the Aeacids (Q.S. 3.752–765; 760 for the name Νεοπτολέμῳ). The animals grieve for their old master as much as they rejoice in the prospect of the new one; much like Nestor, whose song praising Achilles in Book 4 finishes with an expression of hope about the arrival of the son (Q.S. 4.169–170). All of these anticipations raise the expectation that the post-Achilles future of the Trojan War will still bear strong reminiscences to the Achilles period. Indeed, Neoptolemus' similarity to his father creates continuity throughout the epic (Vian 1963 T1, 88 and Toledano Vargas 2002, 20). The fact that the former's arrival is announced in the wake of the latter's death only strengthens this narrative cohesion.

After Achilles, the need for a new Achaean hero is undeniable. Odysseus expresses this even before Ajax's death in Book 5 (Q.S. 5.257–262, quoted in section 3.4) and the latter's suicide only increases the urgency. At the beginning of *Posthomerica* 6, Odysseus honours his promise by taking part in the embassy that leaves for Scyrus. The assembly that decides upon this matter marks a turning point in the narrative and announces Neoptolemus as a new key figure. However, rather than discussing Neoptolemus, the gathering focuses on who will have to bring the new hero to Troy. Basically, the assembly results in the formation of a usefully complementary duo that will carry out more than one mission of importance in the further course of the *Posthomerica*, and whose first and foremost task now is to bring Neoptolemus to the Trojan War. Menelaus opens the debate, feigning desperation after the death of Achilles and Ajax, and proposes going home (Q.S. 6.9–31).[21] This triggers a vehement reaction from Diomedes, who, with both Achilles and Ajax dead and the Atreids in (apparent) despair, is the only remaining name on the Posthomeric shortlist of Achaean heroes (see repeatedly Chapters 2 and 3) who can aptly respond to this seeming cowardice. Buying Menelaus' deceptive words, he violently defends the code of bravery against the suggestion of craven flight: "Θάρσος γὰρ

21 The secret intentions of Menelaus are revealed only after his pessimistic speech. Thus, this is a cleverly inverted reworking of Agamemnon's attempt to deceive the troops in *Iliad* 2. Both scenes have been compared by Vian (1966 T2, 54–55 and 67 n. 1), Schenk (1997, 370–372) and James (2004, 302). In the *Posthomerica*, the reader is initially fooled along with the Achaean army. This deception is particularly effective, because of the resemblance of this assembly to the previous one in *Posthomerica* 2, which was truly desperate. Moreover, just as in *Iliad* 2, the loss of a great hero to the cause of the Achaeans is a direct instigator of the assembly (Schenk 1997, 372).

μερόπεσσι κλέος μέγα, φύζα δ' ὄνειδος" ("It's courage that brings men glory; flight brings only shame", Q.S. 6.46). It is not unusual for Diomedes to preach courage over resignation, a trait established in the *Iliad*. A relevant precedent can be found in *Iliad* 9.32–49, where Diomedes encourages a truly desperate Agamemnon (Vian 1966 T2, 55 n. 1, Schenk 1997, 371 and James 2004, 302). Yet, the words of the Homeric Diomedes are usually more eloquent.[22] In the *Posthomerica*, this is his second attempt to rouse the Achaeans into battle after the loss of one of the Aeacids, and again, his exhortation does not provide the desired solution to the problem at hand. The previous time that Diomedes spoke impulsively, he proposed taking up arms directly after Achilles' funeral in Book 4. Then, Ajax had prevented him from resuming battle before the funeral games (Q.S. 4.89–99). This time, Calchas comes up with a better idea:

"Ἀλλ' ἄγε, Τυδέος υἷα μενεπτόλεμόν τ' Ὀδυσῆα
πέμψωμεν Σκῦρον δὲ θοῶς ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ,
οἵ ῥα παραιπεπιθόντες Ἀχιλλέος ὄβριμον υἷα
ἄξουσιν· μέγα δ' ἄμμι φάος πάντεσσι πελάσσει."
Calchas: Q.S. 6.64–67

"First, though, Tydeus' son and Odysseus the staunch in battle
Must be dispatched at once to Scyrus by dark-colored ship
To use persuasion to bring the sturdy son of Achilles
Back with them, to come as a brilliant light for us all."

Remembering the prophecy about their promised victory, which will come true soon, Calchas assigns an embassy to fetch Neoptolemus. The word μενεπτόλεμον, although not infrequently attested in both Homer and Quintus, is remarkably used twice in this speech (in line 59 for the Achaeans and in line 64 for Diomedes). In this way, the priest hints at the name of their new "light" without actually saying it.[23] Not only does he reveal who will be the new Achaean champion, but he also makes a specific suggestion about the embassy that should bring him to Troy. Instead of the direct, violent attack Diomedes proposed, the solution to the Achaean problem is more circumstantial, and will

22 See section 1.2.2 footnote 69.

23 This is not uncommon in the *Posthomerica*. During the same assembly, another reference to Neoptolemus' name is made by Odysseus: φιλοπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος | ἄξομεν ὄβριμον υἷα ("We shall bring the sturdy son of Achilles the warrior", Odysseus: Q.S. 6.79–80). For further discussion on the use of both adjectives in Homer and Quintus, see footnotes 146 and 144.

first involve a degree of persuasion ("παραιπεπιθόντες", Q.S. 6.66), as both the ever eloquent Odysseus ("ὄβριμον υἷα παρακλίναντ' ἐπέεσσιν" or "convince the sturdy son [of Achilles] with words", Q.S. 6.80) and Menelaus ("σῇσι παραιφασίῃσι" or "through your persuasion", Q.S. 6.86a) immediately agree. This makes Odysseus, as expected since his promise in *Posthomerica* 5.260–262, the ideal person for the job. However, both Calchas and Odysseus seem equally convinced of the necessity of including Diomedes in the embassy ("I'm ready to do [this], especially with the son of Tydeus", Odysseus: Q.S. 6.78). The latter's own speech and earlier performances had presented him as the exact opposite of what was needed here: an impulsive and unthinking fighter. Still, the duo of Odysseus and Diomedes has worked well in the past (compare the *Dolonia*), and the latter will have a decisive role in the undertaking at hand later on, exactly because of his specific battle qualities (see section 4.2.2). Their combined, complementary heroic talents, which are highlighted in this assembly, are required to bring Neoptolemus to battle. Before we ever see the new champion, he is firmly established as the Achaeans' hope, and hope is exactly what they will need in the next few days. As the embassy sails off (Q.S. 6.96–115), a new champion arrives on the Trojan side. Eurypylus, grandson of Heracles and son of Telephus, will have free rein during the rest of *Posthomerica* 6. This chronology is not in line with earlier traditions, where Eurypylus arrived only after Neoptolemus (Keydell 1954, 256) or where the two champions came to Troy on the same day (Vian 1966 T2, 53–54). The inversion and expansion of both heroes' arrivals has not always been appreciated. According to Vian, "le procédé sent l'artifice et engendre la monotonie" (ibid. 54). However, this order of events creates novel narrative suspense in Books 6 to 8. In James' words: "Quintus' version, with the decision to send for Neoptolemus followed by Eurypylus' arrival and initial success, from which the Greeks are saved by Neoptolemus in the nick of time, is dramatically far superior and may well be original" (2004, 301; see also Boyten 2010, 209 and 229). Indeed, the new Trojan champion will cause the Achaeans so much distress that Neoptolemus' arrival becomes urgently required.

4.1.2 *Eurypylus: Looking Out for Neoptolemus*

Both from a formal and a situational point of view, the beginning of Book 6 seems to relate to that of Book 2. Not only are the Achaeans, much like the Trojans in Book 2, in want of a new champion, but both assemblies also occupy between 90 and 100 verses. More specifically, they consist of five speeches, two of which are delivered by the same character: Paris and Menelaus respectively, the two men who strive for Helen's hand. The secret motivation they both cherish, but fail to express in their actual speeches, is the same: they cannot let go

TABLE 5 The arrivals of Penthesilea, Memnon and Eurypylus compared

	Penthesilea		**Memnon**		**Eurypylus (Q.S. 6)**		
	830 v.	100%	666 v.	100%		651 v.	100%
Introduction	17 v.	2%	99 v.	14.9%	1–115[a]	115 v.	17.7%
Arrival	204 v.	24.6%	115 v.	17.3%	116–349	234 v.	35.9%
Subdivision		*= 100%*		*= 100%*			*= 100%*
Arrival	*68 v.*	*33.3%*	*11 v.*	*9.6%*	*116–132*	*17 v.*	*7.3%*
Banquet	*53 v.*	*26%*	*53 v.*	*46.1%*	*133–191*	*59 v.*	*25.2%*
Morning	*84 v.*	*41.2%*	*51 v.*	*44.4%*	*191–349*	*159 v.*	*68%*
Battle	453 v.	54.6%	334 v.	50.1%	350–651	302 v.	46.4%
Subdivision		*= 100%*		*= 100%*			*= 100%*
Smaller battle	*181 v.*	*40%*	*28 v.*	*8.4%*	*350–367*	*18 v.*	*6%*
Larger episode	*74 v.*	*16.3%*	*102 v.*	*30.5%*	*368–497*[b]	*130 v.*	*43%*
Smaller battle	*62 v.*	*13.7%*	*43 v.*	*12.9%*	*498–651*[c]	*154 v.*	*51%*
Achilles	*137 v.*	*30.2%*	*161 v.*	*48.2%*	–	–	–
Mourning	156 v.	18.8%	118 v.	17.7%	–	–	–

a This includes the assembly itself and the subsequent departure of the embassy in lines 96–115.

b Machaon is defeated by Eurypylus and his body is saved by the Achaeans.

c This consists of a sequence of shorter, mainly Achaean *aristeiai*, during which the Trojans are temporarily pushed back. Towards the end of Book 6, however, Eurypylus' troops get the upper hand again. The battle day is abruptly called to a halt as dusk falls. For the Achaeans, this means temporary relief.

of Helen (compare Paris' silent thoughts in Q.S. 2.94–99 to those of Menelaus in Q.S. 6.32–38). In a sense, both assemblies thus serve to oppose the two rivals that have caused this war and their determination to finish it.[24] The similar composition of the two assemblies establishes not only a connection between Book 2 and 6, but also to what follows immediately afterwards. The arrival of the third and final new Trojan champion is structured in a way that invites compar-

24 For further discussion of the narrative function of this assembly, see Schenk (1997, 368–372).

ison to the arrivals of Penthesilea and Memnon. The table above is an extension of Table 2 in Section 2.2, starting with the same subdivision.

This table reveals both similarities with and a significant deviation from the previous Trojan champions in Books 1 and 2. Although Book 6 starts in a seemingly similar way, none of the subsections relevant to Penthesilea and Memnon work out for Eurypylus in exactly the same way.[25] First, the assembly does not prepare for Eurypylus' arrival. In fact, his sudden appearance is one of the biggest surprises in the *Posthomerica* (at least for the reader, perhaps also for the Trojans and Achaeans), for it has not once been foreshadowed (Duckworth 1936, 80 and Calero Secall 1995b, 55). Two exceptions might be found in Book 4, where Eurypylus' father Telephus is twice called to mind as part of the recounting of Achilles' battle achievements, in Nestor's praise song (Q.S. 4.151–152) and in the prize he receives for it (Q.S. 4.172–177). That same praise song ended with a hopeful note about Neoptolemus' arrival, right between both reminiscences of Telephus (Q.S. 4.169–170). Telephus, later on, is repeatedly called to mind in the prelude to the duel between Neoptolemus and Eurypylus.[26] The lack of actual anticipations in this passage, however, remains remarkable. Duckworth remarks that this observation extends to the following books and creates a growing feeling of uncertainty about the fate of this champion, to increase suspense towards the central confrontation of the *Posthomerica* (1936, 81–84). In addition, the description of the hero's arrival differs considerably from the two previous ones (see section 4.1.2.1). Finally, and most importantly, the fact that Eurypylus survives Book 6 and continues his prominent position on the battlefield until Book 8 is—of course—a significant difference from his two predecessors, and explains why a formal comparison of the three episodes is only possible to a limited extent. In the rest of this section, I focus on how Book 6 and the beginning of Book 7 stage Eurypylus as the third new Trojan champion. Comparison with his two predecessors soon makes clear how this last new hero stands out; all of this builds indirect anticipation of Neoptolemus.

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25 Apart from Schenk's analysis of both assemblies (discussed above), Calero Secall makes a comparative study of the five arrival scenes in the *Posthomerica*. She agrees that Eurypylus' arrival recalls Memnon's, but also points to the asymmetry between them, especially in the setting of the welcome, the brevity of the banquet and the postponed conversation with Paris (Calero Secall 1995b, esp. 48, 52, 55; see also Vian 1966 T2, 55–56 and 71 n. 7). Finally, also Eurypylus' confrontation with Neoptolemus will recall Memnon's with Achilles (this is discussed in section 4.2.2.2).

26 See below. Occurrences are listed in footnote 112.

4.1.2.1 Arrival

Eurypylus' reception is considerably longer than those of Penthesilea and Memnon, especially due to the addition of an extensive *ekphrasis* of Eurypylus' Heraclean shield (94 lines) to the 'morning' scene.[27] This *ekphrasis* is a plainly atypical feature for the arrival scenes thus far in the *Posthomerica*. It adds considerable weight to Eurypylus' arrival,[28] specifically in anticipation to his duel with Neoptolemus, during which the iconic armour of both heroes will physically clash.[29] In fact, the entire arrival episode is structured in a slightly different, yet decisively meaningful way to better support Eurypylus' legitimacy as a new Trojan champion. First of all, we get a remarkably short first impression of Eurypylus, as he suddenly appears in Troy:

> Τοῖσι δ' ἐελδομένοισι θεοὶ μέγα πήματος ἄλκαρ
> ἤγαγον Εὐρύπυλον κρατεροῦ γένος Ἡρακλῆος·
>
> Q.S. 6.119–120

> To meet their [the Trojans'] desire the gods brought them a strong protector
> From suffering, Eurypylus, mighty Heracles' stock.

As with Penthesilea and Memnon, a few introductory remarks give a first, quick description of the hero, including his divine descent (he is kin to Heracles, Q.S. 6.120) and his followers, numerous valiant troops (Q.S. 6.121–123), just as was the case for Memnon. Unlike in Books 1 and 2, however, there is no specific reason given for this arrival. James only suggests that the new chronology of the story has caused this silence about Eurypylus' motive. What seems to matter more than the reason for his arrival, however, is its surprise, which again

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27 This *ekphrasis* mainly consists of a list of Heracles' deeds, *inter alia* his labours. As mentioned before in section 3.3.1 footnote 92, this shield description stands in close relation to the other two *ekphraseis* of the *Posthomerica*, which I will not discuss any further. For more detailed discussion of this second shield description, see Vian (1966 T2, 56–63), James & Lee (2000, 38), James (2004, 303), Baumbach (2007, 128–141), Maciver (2012b, 40 n. 8, 46 n. 31, 48 n. 35) and Mazza (2014, 17–19).

28 Without the shield *ekphrasis* of 94 lines, the 'morning' subsection (now counting 68% of the entire 'arrival' section) would be reduced to 101 verses or 43.2% of the entire 'arrival' section. This is more in line with Books 1 and 2.

29 In this light, Baumbach also interprets the shield as an indicator of Eurypylus' fate in battle, both his high intentions and his eventual doom (2007, 134–139). For Maciver, this structure invites (contrasting) comparison of Books 5 and 6 (essentially linked by the two armour descriptions), and Achilles' and Eurypylus' status and conduct (2012b, 22).

enhances the narrative suspense.[30] Eurypylus seems to have been sent to Troy by divine impulse, designed as the μέγα πήματος ἄλκαρ (Q.S. 6.119) of the Trojans. Ἄλκαρ is an intriguing word choice. In Quintus, it occurs eleven times.[31] The word can be used for objects[32] or persons[33] with a protective function. In four cases, this 'protection' involves winning the Trojan War,[34] and of these cases, a specific name is attached to the word ἄλκαρ only this once, in Book 6.[35] This raises high, yet false expectations of Eurypylus, and not for the last time in Book 6. As before, in Books 1 and 2, the Trojans are focalized when they see their new champion for the first time. Their undivided hope is described in a rather ambiguous simile: they are like geese that gather joyfully around the master who feeds them (Q.S. 6.125–130). The ominous undertone of bird comparantia in the *Posthomerica* has been mentioned before.[36] Although this may raise implicit doubts about the future of the Trojans in this war,[37] their new leader himself is more convincingly depicted as a lion among jackals, which is only the start of a list of lion comparantia used for the same champion in Book 6 (Q.S. 6.132).[38]

The unexpected arrival of this new hope leads to a somewhat improvised welcome, rather than a proper 'banquet'. A few major changes in focus com-

30 Judging by the extremely joyful reactions of the Trojans later on, it would not be too far-fetched to assume that the Trojans are as surprised as the reader by this unhoped-for chance of rescue. The same could be said about the Achaeans, who might have thought twice about sending away two of their best heroes had they expected Eurypylus to arrive in the meantime.

31 Three of which relate to the word πῆμα: Q.S. 5.514, 6.119 and 12.49.

32 Penthesilea's axe (Q.S. 1.160), feathers as Philoctetes' ἄλκαρ against winter and pain (9.359 and 363), and Alkimedon's shield (11.452).

33 Achilles as the ἄλκαρ for Phoenix' old age (Q.S. 3.478) or as Briseis' ἄλκαρ (565), and Teucer bewails the loss of Ajax as the ἄλκαρ πήματος of the Achaeans (5.514).

34 Besides the present occurrence in *Posthomerica* 6, there is Q.S. 2.11 (who will be the next Trojan ἄλκαρ after Hector and Penthesilea's defeat?), 12.22 (the Achaeans debate a new ἄλκαρ to capture Troy) and 49 (the ruse of the Trojan Horse will be that ἄλκαρ).

35 An additional reason for the choice of this word for Eurypylus could perhaps be found in its only two Homeric occurrences. In *Iliad* 5.644, the word occurs in a speech of Tlepolemus, another son of Heracles and therefore an uncle of Eurypylus', as he scorns Sarpedon for not being an ἄλκαρ to the Trojans. In *Iliad* 11.823, the wounded Eurypylus (an Achaean namesake of Quintus' current champion) fears that there will be no ἄλκαρ for the Achaean ships now. By association, these two occurrences could hence be said to loosely relate to this new Eurypylus.

36 See Spinoula's work, referred to in section 3.2.2.

37 This is argued by Spinoula, who also links the image to the simile in Q.S. 1.173–178, where Penthesilea led the Trojans out like sheep, to their defeat (2008, 175–179).

38 For Eurypylus in lion similes, compared to Neoptolemus, see footnote 100.

pared to Books 1 and 2 again establish a remarkable difference between Eurypylus and the two previous champions. The scene takes a few verses more than the banquets of Penthesilea and Memnon, but only because Paris first takes his guest on a walk through town (Q.S. 6.133–165, that is 33 lines, or more than half of the 'banquet' subsection), of which the track might remind readers of Hector's trajectory in *Iliad* 6.[39] It is notable that it is not Priam, but Paris who acts as a host. In fact, the old king is remarkably absent throughout Book 6. Several suggestions about why this switch takes place mainly focus on why Priam is no longer present.[40] However, the mere presence of Paris by Eurypylus' side strengthens the association of the latter champion with Hector, a comparison that will be developed for Eurypylus more extensively than for any of his predecessors. Eurypylus is also the only hero who is explicitly compared to Hector in the *Posthomerica*, for example during this same welcome scene (Q.S. 6.133).[41]

The banquet proper does not start before all soldiers are lodged in their quarters (Q.S. 6.161–165). Moreover, as becomes clear only verses later, they share in what seems to be more of a lavish, joyful and musical party than a mere dinner (Q.S. 6.167–172). This, again, indicates a double climax in the arrival of Eurypylus thus far: not only do the Trojans see reason to celebrate beforehand for the first time,[42] there also is an unusually explicit and repeated focus on the Trojan troops on the evening before battle. This renders Eurypylus' arrival the most bellicose of all and seems to suggest that the third champion has brought the most promising help to Troy. Indeed, during the evening celebration, focalization briefly shifts to the Achaean camp (Q.S. 6.173–179). This starkly differs from the welcomes of Penthesilea and Memnon, when the Achaeans only beheld their new enemy on the morning of battle. Twice, the exact same verse is used: Q.S. 1.205–206 (Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐθάμβεον, εὖτ' ἐσίδοντο | Τρῶας ἐπεσσυμέ-

39 Indeed, Eurypylus walks from the gates past Hector's house and Athena's temple to Paris' residence (James 2004, 303). For the geographical description of Troy, see Vian (1959, 118–121 and 1966 T2, 73 n. 1). For Quintus' reworking of the Trojan urban landscape in the Second Sophistic, see André (2014).

40 According to Vian (and Ferrari 1963, 13, quoted by Vian), the change of host has to do with the lower rank of Eurypylus, compared to the royal Penthesilea and Memnon (1966 T2, 72 n. 3). Boyten, on the other hand, finds the diminishing role of Priam in the epic an indication of his "growing resignation" as an old man (2010, 158).

41 Besides here, also in Q.S. 7.730 and, circumstantially, in Q.S. 9.42. More detailed discussion of Eurypylus' relationship with Hector follow below. For a comparative overview of the three Trojan champions' associations with Hector, see also section 2.1.3.

42 The Trojans make the same mistake more than once in the *Posthomerica*. For further discussion, see section 6.1.

νους καὶ Ἀρηΐδα Πενθεσίλειαν) and 2.202–203 (Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐθάμβεον, εὖτ' ἐσίδοντο | ἐσσυμένους).[43] This focalization is slightly adapted and certainly less optimistic in Book 6:

> Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐθάμβεον εἰσορόωντες
> αὐλῶν φορμίγγων τ' ἰαχὴν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων
> σύριγγός θ' ἣ δαιτὶ μεταπρέπει ἠδὲ νομεῦσι.
>
> Q.S. 6.173–175

> From their distant positions the Argives stared in amazement
> At the sounds of horses and men, of the oboes and lyres
> And panpipes that are played by herdsmen and at feasts.

The besiegers understand the Trojan feast as a bad omen and remain on guard through the night. Meanwhile, a remarkably short banquet takes place in the Trojan palace. It is summarized in four verses (Q.S. 6.180–184) and only details how Priam and the Trojans alike[44] beg Eurypylus to relieve the city. Eurypylus' answer is rendered in indirect speech: ὃ δ' ὑπέσχετο πάντα τελέσσειν (Q.S. 6.184), an answer not unlike Priam's interpretation of Memnon's promise in 2.36–37: "Αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἀσπασίως μοι ὑπέσχετο πάντα τελέσσαι | ἐλθὼν ἐς Τροίην" ("Gladly he promised me that he would come to Troy and accomplish all I asked"; Vian 1966 T2, 74 n. 4), and seemingly similar to Penthesilea's commitment in Book 1. However, more in line with Memnon, Eurypylus is not judged for his assumed words, nor is he called νήπιος.[45] Later on, he also gets an opportunity to phrase his commitments in direct speech, and those differ slightly, if not entirely, from this first rendering. This happens during a brief conversation with Paris after the extensive shield *ekphrasis* (Q.S. 6.200–293). On the morning of battle, the prince expresses his hope that Eurypylus will save the Trojans. Priam had done the same in Book 2 (Vian 1966 T2, 79 n. 1), but Paris now addresses an impressive warrior in fully described armour, ready to set out. This makes both Paris' praise and Eurypylus' commitments more credible; instead of being spoken during a good meal, their words are grounded on the facts of battle that lie right

43 Twice: "The Argives were amazed to see from afar (…) advancing". For further discussion of phrases with θαμβέω in the *Posthomerica*, see Bär (2009, 236–237).

44 This is the only appearance of Priam during Eurypylus' arrival. In contrast to Books 1 and 2, he does not stand out among his citizens, nor does he express his own—either careful or hopeful—opinion about the new champion, which had been of vital importance for the characterizations of both Penthesilea and Memnon.

45 Duckworth finds this omission noteworthy, given the importance of the duel to come (1936, 63–64).

before them. Eurypylus brings nuance to Paris' expectations: in line with Memnon's careful reply during the banquet (Q.S. 2.148–155), he reflects that his fate is still unsure. While Memnon found that this "you soon shall learn in battle" (Q.S. 2.152), Eurypylus states that "it rests upon the knees of the immortals as to who will die and who will survive the violent fray" (Q.S. 6.310–311). Then, in line with this caution, but unlike Memnon, he agrees to make an oath "not to return before either killing or being killed" (Eurypylus: Q.S. 6.314). The great difference between his current goal and that of Penthesilea and Memnon is that Eurypylus does not (need to) attempt to kill Achilles. In fact, the Trojans are not yet aware of the impending arrival of his son, although one ironical pun referring to Neoptolemus can be found in Paris' statement that "no man like you [Eurypylus] has ever been seen among the Trojans or warlike (ἐυπτολέμοισι) Achaeans" (Q.S. 6.300–301). Instead, Eurypylus sets out on a more general mission to vanquish the Achaeans, and he hails a rather general heroic motivation which is not unlike that of various other heroes—most of all Neoptolemus—who have yet to appear.[46] Hence, Eurypylus' departure seems to mark the start of a new episode in the war around Troy. The narrator appreciates Eurypylus' words as θαρσαλέως and the Trojans again rejoice, before they set out (Q.S. 6.315). More than any time before, this battle holds promising prospects for the Trojans, and, for once, their joy is not (yet) wrong.

4.1.2.2 Battle

The first battle of Eurypylus is spread over the rest (46.4%) of Book 6. As Table 5 illustrates, the pattern of Books 1 and 2, still loosely followed during Eurypylus' arrival, eventually evaporates in what follows. Eurypylus is the first Posthomeric Trojan champion to survive the book in which he arrives. Instead of dying, he dominates the fight until dusk at the end of Book 6. This happens in three major movements, which could be aligned with the first three battle episodes of Penthesilea and Memnon. Between two 'smaller' battle scenes,[47] one more

46 Verhelst has noted that the topos of 'rather die than fail' is particularly prominent in Quintus' speeches (2016, 86 n. 14). As will become clear in the following analysis, Neoptolemus is its foremost practitioner (section 4.3.3). For a similar scene in the Sinon episode, see section 5.3.2.

47 By 'smaller', I mean less dominant in the narrative, either because of their brevity or their fragmentation into several briefer episodes. As in Books 1 and 2, the focus is not (always) on the leading champion in these scenes. Eurypylus does not figure in this first, smaller subsection (18 verses), nor in 84 of the 154 verses (for exact references, see footnote 56) of the last 'smaller battle' episode. Moreover, Eurypylus is present in only half of the 'larger episode' about Machaon (68 out of 130 verses, which is slightly more than half of this subsection). It could therefore be concluded that Eurypylus is physically absent in slightly

coherent event seems to dominate that day's fight. Eurypylus only appears at the beginning of the second ('larger') battle scene, as he honours Heracles' power (Q.S. 6.368–371).[48] He is also called λαίλαπι ἶσος (Q.S. 6.368), a comparison that is otherwise only used for Achilles as he vanishes into the turmoil after Memnon's death (Q.S. 2.548) and for Ajax Major at the beginning of the simile in which he becomes gradually mad (Q.S. 5.364). For both Iliadic heroes, then, this comparison marked the beginning of their decline into doom. Eurypylus, on the other hand, stands at the beginning of a very promising day, in which he will achieve victory in ways that strongly recall Hector.

Eurypylus then slays Nireus and thus provokes Machaon's anger. Their duel, Eurypylus' victory over Machaon and the subsequent fight around the latter's body occupy 43 % of that day's battle. Although Eurypylus is not always prominent in this episode,[49] the general development of this day's battle rings an Iliadic bell. After defeating Machaon, Eurypylus addresses him in a triumphant speech (Q.S. 6.414–424), and for the first time in the *Posthomerica*, the dying opponent replies: Machaon warns his killer that his own doom is near (Q.S. 6.426–428).[50] Eurypylus' answer is as resigned as were his words to Paris earlier: death will come as it may, for all humans (Q.S. 6.431–434). This conversation evokes a strong Homeric echo of two famous passages in the *Iliad*, namely the dying words of Patroclus to Hector (*Iliad* 16) and those of Hector to Achilles (*Iliad* 22). Both should indeed be taken into account (James 2004, 305). Vian mainly recognizes the reference to Hector's death (*Iliad* 22.355–367, 1966 T2, 84 n. 2). Although clear echoes to *Iliad* 22 confirm this,[51] I agree with Maciver that we should pay equal attention to the Patroclus episode (2012b, 188–189). Indeed, these two intertextual possibilities need not exclude each other. Maciver sees a shifting pattern in the use of references to *Iliad* 16 and

more than half of the verses describing the battle of Book 6, which is considerably more than for Memnon, or even—to a lesser extent—Penthesilea (see section 2.2 footnote 95). As is argued below, however, this does not prevent his spirit from dominating most of the battle. Furthermore, Eurypylus' fighting capacities obviously receive further attention in the subsequent books.

48 References to Heracles have been and in what follows will be an important feature of Eurypylus' characterization, and an indication of his strength (e.g. Q.S. 7.107–113). However, his father Telephus is also often called to mind as a less flattering parallel by the Achaeans (see footnote 112).

49 E.g. he does not take part in the fight around Machaon's body, as Hector did around Patroclus' in *Iliad* 17.

50 For the reception of this kind of Homeric prolepsis in the *Posthomerica*, see Schmitz (2007, 69–70).

51 For example, Eurypylus' first words to Machaon (Q.S. 6.414–418) sound like Achilles' to the dying Hector (*Iliad* 22.331–336; Vian 1966 T2, 83 n. 6).

22, as the conversation between Machaon and Eurypylus proceeds. Machaon's foreshadowing of the victor's death can be traced back to Patroclus' last words (*Iliad* 16.852–854). Hector in *Iliad* 16, however, seems less inclined to accept the prophecy about his own death (*Iliad* 16.859–861) than Achilles in 22.365–366 ("my fate will I accept when Zeus is minded to bring it to pass and the other immortal gods"). Eurypylus' answer seems to be more in line with the latter's words: "For my part the future doesn't concern me, even if dismal destruction is right at my heels this very day. We mortal men don't live forever; death is fated for us all" (Eurypylus: Q.S. 6.431–434).[52] Thus, although Machaon addressed Eurypylus as a Hector, the champion seems to reply as an Achilles. Maciver observes that this complicates the straightforward assumption that Eurypylus is presented as a second Hector in Book 6: "Eurypylus' reply, and in particular its intertextuality, boosts his status from a Hector figure bound to die at the hands of a superior hero, as cast through the words of Machaon, to an Achilles figure. (…) his reply shifts focus from one level of characterisation to a superior level" (Maciver 2012b, 187–189; p. 189 for the quotation). This, in turn, can be related to Duckworth's suggestion that Eurypylus' death is not foreshadowed, in order to raise suspense in the narrative.[53] As long as Neoptolemus is not at Troy, Eurypylus is indeed unmistakeably the best. However, the same could be said of Hector, who thrived during Achilles' absence in the *Iliad*. Although I agree with Maciver's analysis of this conversation, I remain convinced that throughout Book 6, the intertextual parallel to Hector is more relevant. Also, the general plot structure of the rest of Book 6 is seemingly set up for Eurypylus to achieve battle successes similar to those of Hector in the *Iliad*. For this to become fully clear, not only should details be taken into account, but also the overarching narrative composition. For example, the conversation between Hector and Patroclus in the *Iliad*—like that of Eurypylus and Machaon—consists of only three speeches, whereas that between Achilles and Hector counts five. Moreover, the parallel with Hector's victory over Patroclus could be extended in the next part of this episode. As Teucer sets up a fight to save the body (Q.S. 6.437–454),[54] the focus shifts to the victim's brother, Podalirius, who has remained in the Achaean camp as a medical doctor. Machaon's death immediately incites

52 For further discussion on the Iliadic intertextuality with Eurypylus' gnome, see Maciver (2012b, 97–98).

53 Maciver (ibid.) refers to Duckworth's discussion of Machaon's words (1936, 81–82).

54 This scene is triggered by Eurypylus briefly mistreating the corpse, which seems to be another brief echo of Achilles' behaviour after Hector's death (Vian 1966 T2, 84 n. 3 and James 2004, 305). In general terms, however, Vian links the subsequent battle to those for the corpses of Sarpedon and Patroclus (1966 T2, 65).

him to join the fight, and his contribution eventually enables the Danaans to bring the body to the ships (Q.S. 6.455–497). As in the Patroclus episode, someone dearly related to the defeated abandons his business at the ships to save his fallen friend (or brother).[55] This altogether rather concisely narrated episode clearly resounds with certain aspects of the deaths of both Hector and Patroclus, with what seems to me a particular focus on the *aristeia* of Hector. This enhances the repeated association of Eurypylus with Hector at his Iliadic best.

Also in the third part of battle in Book 6, the parallel between Eurypylus and Hector is never far. Despite the fact that I have labelled this subsection 'smaller battle', it comprises half of the entire 'battle' section in this book (154 verses or 51 % to be precise). My main reason for not categorizing this as a second 'larger battle episode' is its fragmentation. In a nutshell, the episode describes how the Achaeans have to withdraw to the ships (Q.S. 6.500 ff.) and attempt—with varying success—to stop the incredible power that Eurypylus has breathed into the Trojan army. Neither one champion nor one of the two armies can be said to dominate this part of the fight, although some remarks can be made about its general structure. First of all, Eurypylus is not always physically present.[56] That morning, he had selected a large host of leaders among the Trojan elite (Q.S. 6.316–322), and they all play their part now. Similarly, the remaining champions on the Achaean side attempt to meet the attack. With Achilles and Ajax Major dead and Odysseus and Diomedes gone, the main remaining champions for the Achaeans are the Atreids and Ajax Minor. They are the first to give battle (Q.S. 6.505–512), but also the first in distress.[57] Other efforts on the Achaean side are

55 The parallel between the grief of Podalirius for Machaon and of Achilles for Patroclus extends to the beginning of Book 7, where the former mourns his deceased brother. Boyten gives an overview of the similarities to Achilles' Iliadic behaviour (2010, 121–123) and Vian provides further references (1966 T2, 106 n. 2). James also considers other possible sources for this scene (2004, 306–307).

56 In fact, he disappears from view in Q.S. 6.505–512 (8 verses), 527–539 (13 verses), 545–583 (39 verses) and 622–645 (24 verses).

57 Ajax Minor is quickly wounded (Q.S. 6.521–526) and the Atreids find themselves surrounded (Q.S. 6.527–537). They are compared to beasts in an arena (Q.S. 6.532–537). Besides ample discussion of the anachronistic subject of this simile (see section 1.1.1), the depicted situation is also repeatedly linked to a similarly precarious situation of Odysseus in *Iliad* 11.401–420, where he is compared to a boar surrounded by hunters (Vian 1966 T2, 88 n. 1 and James 2004, 305; confirmed and expanded upon by Spinoula 2008, 218–219 and Tomasso 2010, 138 n. 308). Tomasso suggests *Iliad* 12.42 as a precedent, depicting Hector as a lion or swine that drives humans against a wall (2010, 126–138). Both images, despite the changing sides of humans and wild animals, have in common that the comparandum consists of Trojans oppressing the Achaeans during the attack on the ships, which is perhaps the most telling element of the analogy. More recently, Bärtschi has presented an

equally without success. Even if they sometimes get the upper hand temporarily, Eurypylus always inspires his own troops with enough strength to make the Achaeans fall back. In general, then, this rather long battle episode may not have an obvious focus at first view, but when looked at more closely, it is the spirit of Eurypylus, sometimes more than his physical presence, that achieves success.[58] Thus, it could be stated that, more than his two predecessors, Eurypylus succeeds in stirring the entire Trojan army into successful action.[59] In this, Eurypylus again reminds the reader of Hector, and more specifically of the latter's most successful attack against the Achaean ships: the assault on the wall, which extends from *Iliad* 8 to 16.[60] The current battle seems to mirror that important Iliadic attack.[61] Moreover, Book 6 ends more or less as Hector's siege of the Achaean wall began: with the Trojan army bivouacking near the ships.[62] The *Posthomerica* reverses the two Iliadic events by placing the successful attack on the ships before the bivouac, thus ending Book 6 with a serious cliff-hanger. This and other, smaller echoes of the Iliadic attack on the ships[63] establish Eurypylus as a Hector returned, the first and only Posthomeric Trojan champion that can cause the Achaeans real distress. Book 6 thus makes considerable effort to raise suspense going into Book 7, when Neoptolemus is expected. Eurypylus promises to be a formidable opponent.[64]

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extension of these studies, with specific attention for the engagement between Greeks and Romans in this image (Quintus Workshop 2016).

58 He is regularly called by name, or referred to, despite the fact that he seems not always to be present at that moment: Q.S. 6.501 (not present?), 513, 541 (not present?), 544, 579 (not present?), 584, 591, 595 (τῷ δὲ), 602, 615 and 646.

59 Unlike Book 1, where many of the Amazons of Penthesilea were among the first victims (e.g. Q.S. 1.247–266).

60 Vian (1966 T2, 65, followed by James 2004, 302) sees the closest resemblance to the sequence of attacks in *Iliad* 11 (detailed references in Vian ibid., n. 1 and 2).

61 The wall itself, however, is not mentioned before Q.S. 7.132 (see section 4.1.2.3).

62 The Achaeans are saved by the arrival of dusk, but Eurypylus makes camp nearby (Q.S. 6.644–651). Similarly, Hector decides to stay on the battlefield overnight in *Iliad* 8.484ff. Vian (1966 T2, 92 n. 5) and James (2004, 305) find the closest parallel in the verses of *Iliad* 8.485–194.

63 See footnotes 57 and 62. Additionally, Vian points to Iliadic models for a shorter comparison in which the Trojans chase the Achaeans as dogs chase deer (Q.S. 6.611–612 ~ Odysseus and Diomedes pursuing Dolon in *Iliad* 10.360–362: 1966 T2, 91 n. 4), for the death and replacement of Pammon's charioteer (Q.S. 6.561–573 ~ the death of Hector's charioteer Archeptolemus in *Iliad* 8.309–319: ibid. 89 n. 3 and James 2004, 305) and for the detail of cruel slaughter, where an arrow is stuck in a heart still beating (Q.S. 6.636–638 ~ *Iliad* 13.442–444; ibid. 92 n. 3 and James 2004, 305).

64 For the general impact of Eurypylus on the battlefield, see Boyten (2010, 229) and Maciver (2012b, 182–183).

4.1.2.3 Battle, Again

Whoever thought that Book 6 had ended with a sufficient climax to prepare for Neoptolemus' arrival, however, will be surprised to find out that the setting at the beginning of Book 7 is still the Achaean camp. Rather than maintaining a clean separation of the simultaneous actions in Troy and at Scyrus in two books, the narrator opts for a more gradual transition within Book 7. Hence, the Achaeans set out to confront Eurypylus once more at dawn (Q.S. 7.1–5). Focus immediately shifts back to events inside the camp, where Nireus and Machaon are buried. Podalirius is devastated by his loss, and it takes Nestor two extensive pep talks to pull him back to his feet (Q.S. 7.21–97). This conversation has often been discussed as an example of the moralizing, perhaps even Stoic character of the *Posthomerica*, or at least of the Posthomeric Nestor.[65] However, the passage also has a text-internal function in relation to Eurypylus' characterization. Podalirius' desperate reaction recalls Achilles' grief for Patroclus in the *Iliad*, which again strengthens the parallel between Hector's actions and Eurypylus'. Besides this, Nestor also relates Machaon's death to Antilochus' in Book 2 (Q.S. 7.45–51), which reinforces the link between Eurypylus and Memnon.[66] Just like Eos' son in Book 2, Eurypylus has obtained one important victory and is now, also as in Book 2, awaiting his greatest confrontation, that with Aeacus' kin.

This episode early in Book 7 is thus mainly an extension and continuation of what Eurypylus has achieved in Book 6. As he presses the attack, the Trojan champion seems to find continued success. Finally, the Achaeans have to withdraw behind their wall (Q.S. 7.128–131). This is the first time that the wall is mentioned (Vian 1966 T2, 96–97), which indicates a climax in the Achaeans' distress: they cannot withdraw any further. The oppressed linger there for several days, barely keeping off the Trojans (Q.S. 7.142–151). This brief and quite fierce second *aristeia* of Eurypylus provides an even stronger ground to make the transition to Scyrus. More than ever, it is clear that the Achaeans' only hope lies with the embassy. Moreover, the characterization of Eurypylus is based on text-internal and intertextual grounds that trigger clear expectations for the upcoming confrontation: the reader expects that, as has happened twice before in the *Posthomerica*, this new Trojan champion will be met by Achilles. Achilles himself may be dead, but since a new Hector seems to have arisen, Neoptolemus will have to prove himself a grand champion to match this new threat.

65 After Vian's initial remarks analyzing its Stoic sources (1966 T2, 97–99 and 97 n. 2), a detailed study of this passage and its gnomic nature has been conducted by Maciver (2012b, 103–119). For echoes to the reflection on death in *Iliad* 24, for example in the jars of good and evil (referred to in Q.S. 7.70–79), see Maciver (2012b, 104–106 and 112–114).

66 The strongest parallel between both characters will follow as the fatal duel announces itself (see section 4.2.2.2).

4.2 Meet the Son of a Father

From the moment when Neoptolemus comes into view in Book 7, his part in the *Posthomerica* is so important that a full study of his characterization would easily exceed the limits of one (even quite substantial) chapter. Therefore, as discussed at the beginning of Chapter 4, I limit my present discussion of Neoptolemus to the books in which the young hero is most prominent and most clearly the primary hero, namely Books 7 and 8 and the first half of Book 9, in which he is established as the new champion of the Achaeans. Section 4.2.1 investigates how the son of Achilles is introduced as the young successor of his father during his first meeting with the embassy on Scyrus (section 4.2.1.1), and how he is received by his fellow Achaeans in Troy (section 4.2.1.2). Section 4.2.2 then focuses on his baptism by fire on the battlefield (section 4.2.2.1, which in the chronology of Quintus' narrative comes between the events on Scyrus and his welcome in the Achaean camp), and his final confrontation with Eurypylus in Book 8 (section 4.2.2.2). Finally, section 4.2.3 analyses how the son of Achilles fares as a warrior hero on the battlefield after his most important rival is killed. These findings lead to general conclusions about his warrior characterization in section 4.3 and a reflection on his place in the rest of the Trojan War in section 4.4.

4.2.1 *Young Blood*

Τοὶ δ' ἐς ⟨Σ⟩κῦρον ἵκοντο μελαίνῃ νηὶ θέοντες.
Εὗρον δ' υἷ' Ἀχιλῆος ἑοῦ προπάροιθε δόμοιο,
ἄλλοτε μὲν βελέεσσι καὶ ἐγχείῃσιν ἱέντα,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖθ' ἵπποισι πονεύμενον ὠκυπόδεσσι.
Γήθησαν ⟨δ'⟩ ἐσιδόντες ἀταρτηροῦ πολέμοιο
ἔργα μετοιχόμενον, καί περ μέγα τειρόμενον κῆρ
ἀμφὶ πατρὸς κταμένοιο· τὸ γὰρ προπάροιθε πέπυστο.
Αἶψα δέ οἱ κίον ἄντα τεθηπότες, οὕνεχ' ὁρῶντο
θαρσαλέῳ Ἀχιλῆι δέμας περικαλλὲς ὁμοῖον.

Q.S. 7.169–177

Meanwhile the men on the fast black ship had arrived at Scyrus.
There they found the son of Achilles in front of his home,
Dividing his time between the shooting of arrows and spears
And exercising with his fleet-footed horses.
They were glad to see him pursuing thus the work
Of unrelenting war in spite of the grief he felt

> For the death of his father, already reported to him.
> As they hurried to meet him they were amazed to observe
> How like brave Achilles he was in his handsome form.[67]

The first physical appearance of Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica* abruptly follows upon the last image of the Achaeans' distress back in Troy. This passage gives a strong first impression of Neoptolemus, and already reveals two fundamental pillars in his characterization: he is an eager young warrior, and he is the son of Achilles. The focalization of Odysseus and Diomedes betrays that they specifically rejoice in these two characteristics, which mutually reinforce each other. Indeed, both aspects are important in Neoptolemus' further representation in the epic and crucially determine his heroic identity. The relation of Neoptolemus to his father on the battlefield is discussed in section 4.2.2. However, it would not be sufficient to state that Neoptolemus is just a new, second Achilles, a mere replacement for the deceased version. Recognition may be a strong aspect of his appearance, and may trigger high expectations, but there is more to the young hero. Part of his identity is his alone, essentially distinguishing him from his father. The two episodes that introduce Neoptolemus to the embassy and to the Achaean army (respectively before and after his first fight in Troy, discussed in section 4.2.2.1), make this clear. At Scyrus and during his formal welcome to the Achaean camp, Neoptolemus meets those beloved by Achilles. Their emotional response to his appearance and his own response to their reactions underline why Neoptolemus is not 'just' Achilles: he is his son, promising and with much potential, but also still young and perhaps a bit inexperienced. This must be kept in mind in assessing Neoptolemus' own behaviour, both on the battlefield and beyond, and is the focus of this first section.

4.2.1.1 Mother's Boy?

In the passage quoted above, the embassy rejoices in the sight of valiant Neoptolemus. Unsurprisingly, Odysseus addresses him with words quite appealing to a young warrior.[68] He starts with praising recognition: "We are friends of

67 Or rather: "To observe a handsome form similar to that of brave Achilles". This more literal translation renders the impersonality of the passage: what Odysseus and Diomedes observe is an Achilles-like stature, and that is what makes them rejoice.

68 In this embassy, Odysseus does all the talking. Diomedes will keep his silence until they reach the turmoil in Troy. This strict task division again confirms the duality of their 'heroic specialities' (see above in section 4.1.1). At the beginning of this speech, Odysseus also introduces Diomedes ("Τυδεΐδαο δαΐφρονος", Q.S. 7.188) and himself ("Ὀδυσσῆος πυκιμή-

Achilles the mighty warrior (ἐυπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος), whose son men say you are by Deidamia the wise. We ourselves can see that you are the perfect image of that man who rivalled the strength of the immortals" (Odysseus: Q.S. 7.183–186). The boy is approached as a likeness of his father, which will prove efficient. Odysseus practically begs him to come to Troy ("Have pity on us now and rescue the Argive army", Q.S. 7.191–192), and then dedicates almost three quarters of his speech (26 out of 36 lines) to more material arguments, namely the honourable gifts he will receive when he does (Q.S. 7.193–218). Menelaus himself had provided Odysseus with a list of presents. In the last speech of the embassy of Book 6, Menelaus had stipulated that Neoptolemus would receive his daughter Hermione and rich gifts, should he come to Troy (Q.S. 6.89–92).[69] However, the cunning hero temporarily ignores those and starts off with his own offer: if Neoptolemus comes to Troy, he will give him the armour of his father Achilles. He adds a quick description of the godly weapons[70] and stresses their exclusivity: "No mortal man on earth has ever before this seen or borne (ἐφόρησεν) such arms apart from your father, who was honored like Zeus by all Achaeans" (Odysseus: Q.S. 7.204–207). This was one of Ajax's arguments against Odysseus' claim in the judgment of arms: "You haven't even the strength to wear this solid armor of the warrior grandson of Aeacus or hands that can wield his spear" (Ajax: Q.S. 5.224–226). With his current act, however, Odysseus vindicates his own claim to the armour, since he could provide the Achaeans with a future.[71] Moreover, it should be remembered that the armour at stake is the new armour, forged for Achilles by Hephaestus after Patroclus' death. Hence indeed, no one else has ever worn it. Only in the final part of his speech does Odysseus mention the promises of Menelaus. Rhetorically speaking, this is a good choice, for Menelaus' presents would only be provided after Troy is sacked, whereas Odysseus' promise will be fulfilled as soon as Neoptolemus comes to Troy. This different timing is stressed by Odysseus at the end of two

δεος", Q.S. 7.189) with adjectives relevant to their respective heroic personalities. A brief comparison between this embassy and that to Achilles in *Iliad* 9 is drawn by Calero Secall (1995b, 50–51).

69 See also Vian (1966 T2, 113 n. 5) and James (2004, 308). The lure is similar to what Agamemnon offered to Achilles in an attempt to make amends in *Iliad* 9. Again, Odysseus acts as the self-conscious messenger.

70 For a comparison to the longer descriptions in *Iliad* 19 and *Posthomerica* 5, see James (2004, 307–308) and Maciver (2012b, 54–55). Tomasso studies the Posthomeric description of Achilles' armour in the light of Neoptolemus' succession and argues that its iconography is slightly adapted to foreshadow this, and that Odysseus aptly makes use of the description to convince the young hero (2010, 190–193). See also Mazza (2014, 12).

71 Compare his promise during the judgment in Q.S. 5.260–262 (discussed in section 3.4).

successive verses: δώσω προφρονέως, ὁπότ᾽ Ἴλιον εἰσαφίκηαι. | Καί νύ σε καὶ Μενέλαος, ἐπὴν Πριάμοιο πόληα | πέρσαντες νήεσσιν ἐς Ἑλλάδα νοστήσωμεν ("But I am only too willing to hand it over to you when you arrive at Ilion. Moreover Menelaus, as soon as we have sacked the city of Priam and sailed back home to Greece …", Odysseus: Q.S. 7.212–214). Odysseus thinks on a shorter timetable: he needs to convince Neoptolemus to come to Troy first, and has quite correctly understood that the prospect of taking his father's place forms an appealing argument. Neoptolemus' answer proves Odysseus' judgment right: he agrees to answer to the prophecy and try to be "the light desired by the Danaans" (Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.222). His words "ἤν τι φάος Δαναοῖσι λιλαιομένοισι γένωμαι" echo Calchas' prophecy "μέγα δ᾽ ἄμμι φάος πάντεσσι" ("as the brilliant light for us all", Q.S. 6.67). Talk of this marriage, however, must wait (Q.S. 7.225). This is the only part of the material offer he replies to. Neoptolemus' greatest motivation for now thus seems to be to go to Troy to answer to the call. In later speeches and focalized thoughts, more specific motives will appear. As the boy invites his guests to the palace, he has already given a hopeful impression of vigour and promise to the Achaean cause.

Despite his eagerness, however, Neoptolemus is still in training, and has never seen war before. This also is apparent in his first words. His welcome speech of three lines[72] gives no sign of recognition or understanding of the situation (Q.S. 7.179–181); it only enquires about the identity and intentions of the "strangers" (ξεῖνοι, Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.179). As Odysseus' reply raises the question if Neoptolemus has ever heard of them (εἴ ποτε … οὔνομ᾽ ἄκουσας, Q.S. 7.188), one might indeed wonder that if he has not, whether he is indeed so ready to sail to war. Another indication of Neoptolemus' ignorance is that he is clearly unaware of the fact that his mother has met his guests before, in a rather inopportune situation. Upon her appearance, Deidamia is immediately characterized as a woman in distress. Her initial appearance is described as: εὗρον Δηιδάμειαν ἀκηχεμένην ἐνὶ θυμῷ (Q.S. 7.228). Later on, she is twice called ἀχνυμένην in quick succession (Q.S. 7.232 and 236), and the word πένθος will be repeated three times as well (Q.S. 7.248 and twice in line 252). Her anguish is for good reason: she still mourns Achilles, who had been taken away from her, to Troy and to his doom, by the very Odysseus and Diomedes that are now unsuspectingly introduced to her by her son. Needless to say, she remembers the two all too well (Q.S. 7.242–249). Neoptolemus is not aware of this, although he does anticipate her distress about his departure, and omits the reason for Odysseus

72 Neoptolemus' speeches are generally quite short and could contribute to his characterization as youthful, perhaps even ignorant (section 4.3.1).

and Diomedes' visit (Q.S. 7.235–237). However, had he known about their previous embassy to Scyrus, he would have known that just introducing these two men to his mother would be enough to bring back old memories and trigger new fears. Diomedes' participation in this embassy is rather unusual, but he is a traditional part of the one that came for Achilles. His mere presence next to Odysseus, then, is enough to make Deidamia remember the earlier visit and compare events (Vian 1966 T2, 55 and James 2004, 302). Her terrified reaction in turn triggers an important consideration about Neoptolemus.

Deidamia indeed adds a fairly divergent voice to the Scyrus episode. From her recognition of the embassy onwards, she will focus on a less heroic aspect of the *topos* 'he looks exactly like his father'. She recalls how Odysseus and Diomedes have literally widowed her (she lost φιλοπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος: Q.S. 7.245) and transposes this feeling to her son, not entirely without reason. The adjective φιλοπτολέμου does not only evoke Neoptolemus' name again, but also refers to a specific passage in Book 6, where Odysseus described this mission: "We shall go together and bring the sturdy son of Achilles the warrior (φιλοπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος … ὄβριμον υἷα), using persuasive words" (Odysseus: Q.S. 6.79–80). In the same speech, Odysseus had anticipated trouble with Deidamia (Q.S. 6.81–83), which is another indication that the passages are related. There are only three occurrences of the expression φιλοπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος in the *Posthomerica*.[73] These first two instances are clearly linked: Odysseus intends to fetch the son of φιλοπτολέμου Achilles to save Troy, whereas Deidamia realizes that this 'love for war' has sent Achilles to his grave. Deidamia's focalization thus launches a false anticipation of Neoptolemus' future that considerably increases the suspense. In a sense, this is the situation of Book 6 reversed: whereas Eurypylus' doom is nowhere foreshadowed, Neoptolemus' doom is now falsely announced. Come dawn, Deidamia catches her son before he can leave. Boyten compares this scene to the departure of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. The difference is of course that in Telemachus' case, the boy succeeds in getting away unseen. Boyten, however, assumes—I believe wrongly—that Neoptolemus has eventually told his mother that he will leave (2010, 206–207). The evening before, Neoptolemus had deliberately kept silent about his decision, and although verse 235 suggested that he might still tell her on the morrow, nothing of the sort explicitly happens. The course of events the next morning suggests that Deidamia only suspected a secret departure and catches them before they can sneak out. In any case, the quick succession of events does not give the impression of a formal and organized goodbye: Ἠὼς δ᾽ εἰσανέβη μέγαν οὐρανόν. Οἳ δ᾽ ἀπὸ λέκτρων |

73 See footnote 144.

καρπαλίμως ὤρνυντο· νόησε δὲ Δηιδάμεια, | αἶψα δέ οἱ στέρνοισι περὶ πλατέεσσι χυθεῖσα ("Dawn climbed the lofty heavens, and from their beds the men were quick to rise. As soon as Deidamia noticed this, she threw herself on her son's broad chest", Q.S. 7.253–255). Desperately, the mother tries to restrain her son:

"Νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν νέος ἐσσὶ καὶ οὔ πω δήια ἔργα
οἶδας ἅ τ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀλάλκουσιν κακὸν ἦμαρ.
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν μευ ἄκουσον,
(…)
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ[74] πατὴρ τεὸς ἔκφυγε κῆρ' αΐδηλον,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμη κατὰ δῆριν, ὅ περ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλων
ἡρώων προφέρεσκε, θεὰ δέ οἱ ἔπλετο μήτηρ"
Deidamia: Q.S. 7.266–274

"You are still too young to have learned[75] those martial arts
Which can protect a man from the evil day.
Listen to what I say,[76]
(…)
Not even your father could escape the doom of death
But was destroyed in action, who was better than you
And other warriors, with a goddess for his mother"

Deidamia is convinced that Neoptolemus will die. Her word choice is indeed quite pessimistic, also beyond the quoted fragment: "So that evil tidings from Troy won't reach my ears that you have been killed in battle. I don't think that you will ever come back here from the war" (Deidamia: Q.S. 7.269–271) and "that is why my heart is filled with fear and trembling, lest with you, my child, dead also it should prove my lot to be left abandoned (εὖνιν) and suffer shamefully" (Deidamia: Q.S. 7.277–279). The word εὖνιν was also used for Deidamia when she remembered how she lost Achilles (Q.S. 7.245). In this passage, she argues that Neoptolemus is young and inexperienced, and—much like everyone else—could not dream of matching Achilles. To call someone unfit for Achilles recalls several precedents in the *Posthomerica*, most of all the first of

74 This repetition of οὐδέ may in this case hint at the pathetic tone in which Deidamia speaks, as if faltering.

75 James' translation assumes a causal relationship here, which is less explicit in the Greek text. Literally: "You are young and you do not yet know …"

76 Here, the Greek is rather more emphatic: "You, listen!" This sounds more like a mother claiming authority over her son, which, in this case, will be in vain.

such evaluations, in Andromache's warning to Penthesilea (Q.S. 1.101–107). In fact, the behaviour of Deidamia in general may recall Andromache's attempt to stop Hector from facing Achilles in *Iliad* 6. This is most apparent in the last lines of Deidamia's speech, which consist of an extensive illustration of the misery of a widowed woman who lost her children (Q.S. 7.280–286). Also, James considers Neoptolemus' brief reply to resemble Hector's answer to Andromache in *Iliad* 6.487–489 (2004, 308).[77] However, both Andromache scenes share the commonality that her pessimistic warnings were eventually proved true. Again, then, Deidamia's voice adds to a false anticipation of Neoptolemus' doom. This is also Duckworth's view (1936, 82–83). It is strongly contested by Spinoula, who would rather understand Deidamia's reaction as an "emotional prediction (…) without validity for the coming events", referring to Kirk's reading of Andromache in *Iliad* 6 (1990; Spinoula 2008, 186 and n. 23). According to her, Deidamia's grief is no technique for creating suspense, but "a naturally pessimistic maternal view" (ibid. 186–187). Despite Spinoula's polemic tone, I am not convinced that both interpretations mutually exclude each other. After all, Deidamia's pessimism is well grounded by previous events. It is a fact that until now, the reader has received no clues as to how Neoptolemus will fare in Troy, nor about Eurypylus' oncoming doom. From this point of view, a mother's anguish seems a quite natural—and effective—way to create suspense. Neoptolemus, however, is not thwarted and firmly expresses his decision:

"Θάρσει, μῆτερ ἐμεῖο, κακὴν δ' ἀποπέμπεο φήμην·
οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Κῆράς τις ὑπ' Ἄρεϊ δάμναται ἀνήρ·
εἰ δέ μοι αἴσιμόν ἐστι δα⟨μ⟩ήμεναι εἵνεκ' Ἀχαιῶν,
τεθναίην ῥέξας τι καὶ ἄξιον Αἰακίδῃσιν."

Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.288–291

"Have courage, mother, and don't speak words of evil omen.
The only deaths in war are those ordained by Fate.[78]
If I am destined to perish for the Achaeans' cause,
Let me first do something worthy of Aeacus' bloodline."

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77 Vian adds more references to Hector's discourse (1966 T2, 102 n. 1). Calero Secall makes a comparative study of Deidamia's plea and those of Andromache in the *Iliad* (1995a, 39–41). Neither woman, according to her, is a 'Heldenweib', since both have difficulties accepting the female passivity that is sometimes deemed the 'female version of heroism' in the *Iliad* (ibid. 49–50).

78 Vian rather translates this verse as follows: "Nul ne tombe sous les coups d' Arès sans l' aveu du Destin."

The young hero chooses honour over life, or more specifically: he chooses Aeacidean honour over life. This is a significant expression, for the plural of Αἰακίδης is used only twice in the *Posthomerica*: in Q.S. 1.521 for Achilles and Ajax, and here for—probably—the family tree of Achilles in general. This word choice again enhances the narrative coherence of the epic: the first five books have provided ample examples of good—and bad—practices of Aeacus' kin, and now the new, long-expected Achaean hero wishes to follow in their footsteps. Neoptolemus' desire to prove himself a worthy successor of the Aeacids is a very specific heroic conviction, which he will explicitly defend more than once in his later achievements. Moreover, he accepts the fact that death is inevitable, just as Eurypylus did. He thus engages with heroes of the past, but also displays views similar to those of his future opponent. The brief decisiveness of his speech leaves no room for doubt. He is supported by his grandfather Lycomedes, who, in less than two lines, corrects the mistaken pessimism of Deidamia ("Ὦ τέκος ὀβριμόθυμον[79] ἐῷ πατρὶ κάρτος ἐοικώς, | οἶδ' ὅτι καρτερός ἐσσι καὶ ὄβριμος" or "Stouthearted child, so like your mighty father, I know that you are strong and valiant", Lycomedes: Q.S. 7.294–295), and is whatsoever not intent on stopping his grandson from leaving (Q.S. 7.312–313).[80] Unsurprisingly, Deidamia's attempt to stay Neoptolemus has been in vain. When he leaves her, she collapses at home, like a swallow who has lost her chicks to a snake (Q.S. 7.330–337).[81] A touching scene eventually shows Deidamia in her own hall, alone and cherishing whatever trinkets Neoptolemus has left behind—toys and weapons alike (Q.S. 7.338–342). While holding on to those, she once more reflects on how young he is (τυτθὸς ἐών, Q.S. 7.340). However, the fact that she kisses one of his spears in the meantime is equally telling for the boy's characterization: he has had an interest in war since a young age.[82]

79 The adjective ὀβριμόθυμος has repeatedly been used for Ajax (see section 3.2.3 footnote 85), but never for Achilles. It will be applied to Neoptolemus twice more, when he is addressed by Odysseus in the assembly (Ὦ τέκος ὀβριμόθυμον ἀταρβέος Αἰακίδαο, Q.S. 12.74) and by Priam just before his death (Ὦ τέκος ὀβριμόθυμον ἐυπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος, Q.S. 13.226).

80 In comparison to other traditions, it is surprising that Quintus' Lycomedes does not support Deidamia's plea (James 2004, 308 and Vian 1966 T2, 101 n. 3).

81 According to Duckworth, this is the only simile containing false foreshadowing in the *Posthomerica* (1936, 83). The image recalls the great prophecy of the Achaeans' victory, mentioned by Calchas in *Iliad* 2.311–316 (Vian 1966 T2, 118 n. 4 and James 2004, 309) and (vaguely) referred to by the same prophet in *Posthomerica* 6.60–63, when he sent out the assembly. Again, the world of heroic warfare is looked at from a different perspective, namely through the eyes of a grieving mother. For a discussion of this simile with a focus on the mother's psychological grief, see Spinoula (2008, 182). This is also discussed in section 6.1.2.

82 Boyten would interpret the training scene and the weapons among toys in the castle as

Focus then shifts to the heroes leaving Scyrus. Neoptolemus appears like a shining star (Q.S. 7.345–346) among Odysseus, Diomedes and his entourage.[83] Joy—Thetis', among others—upon the valiant sight of the boy contrasts sharply with Deidamia's lonely distress (Q.S. 7.353–355):

Ὃς δ' ἤδη πολέμοιο λιλαίετο δακρυόεντος,
καί περ ἐὼν ἔτι παιδνός, ἔτ' ἄχνοος· ἀλλά μιν ἀλκὴ
καὶ μένος ὀτρύνεσκον.
Q.S. 7.356–358

He was already intent on war the cause of tears
Though still a boy, still beardless. It was his courage
And strength that spurred him on.

The paradox of his youth and bravery has been a thread throughout his characterization so far. With these words, however, the young Neoptolemus defini-

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indications that Neoptolemus already was behaving like a hero on Scyrus. He may be right that vigour in war is part of the boy's *phusis* (2010, 212–213), but it must be remembered that the context in which he used these weapons at Scyrus will be quite different from Troy. I do not believe in an 'instant maturity' of Neoptolemus as soon as he leaves home (see also footnote 88).

83 In several ways, the departure scene of Neoptolemus recalls Jason's in *Argonautica* 1.234–316 (Vian provides detailed references: 1966 T2, 101–102 and n. 2 and 3). First, the general outline of the scenes is similar: the Argonauts are cheered and the goodbyes between Jason and his mother Alcimene happen in direct speech, even if they are less personal than those between Neoptolemus and Deidamia. Alcimene does not foreshadow Jason's doom (Duckworth 1936, 82 n. 87; Calero Secall 1995a, 43–45 compares Deidamia and Alcimene in more detail). Another similarity is the comparison to a star, in the *Argonautica* applied to all the Argonauts (1.239–240; James 2004, 246). Neoptolemus, on the other hand, is singled out as an individual in this simile. This recalls other images with the comparans of the sun as well: for Hector (*Iliad* 11.62–66) and Achilles('s armour; *Iliad* 19.381–382, 22.26–32 and 22.317–320), for Jason (*Argonautica* 1.774–781 and 3.1377–1381) and Polydeuces (*Argonautica* 2.40–43), and for Ajax claiming Achilles' armour (Q.S. 5.131–133). As Jason leaves his home later on, he will be compared to Apollo (*Argonautica* 1.306–310), but Neoptolemus to Ares (Q.S. 7.359–365; see below). It appears that, upon his departure, Neoptolemus is not only associated with the usual Iliadic suspects, but perhaps also with the less Homeric—and perhaps less experienced?—Jason. Then again, Neoptolemus gives a more vigorous impression in the imagery chosen for him, and in his predominant position among the other Achaeans. In general, the narrative circumstances are ideal for a reference to less Homeric material. For the first—yet not the last—time in the *Posthomerica*, the narrative leaves the Trojan plains, and this obviously opens the ground for other epic sources to come more explicitly into play. Similarly, the embassy to Lemnus in Book 9 is spiced with references to the Lemnian women (see Ozbek 2011 for a detailed study). This topic, however, will not be further elaborated in this work.

tively seems to leave his childhood behind. What follows is a simile in which the boy is compared to a terrifying Ares (Q.S. 7.359–365).[84] His subjects at Scyrus pray for his safe return, and—in the first real foreshadowing of Neoptolemus' future—the gods grant this (Q.S. 7.365–368).[85] During his departure scene, the son of Achilles has gone through an evolution: whereas he is and remains a child in the words and consideration of his family,[86] other, more vigorous descriptions gradually appear,[87] until he is called the ἐσθλὸν ἄνακτα of Scyrus, moments before he boards the ship (Q.S. 7.366).

Once all are aboard, the Achaeans make haste back to Troy, where Eurypylus awaits them (Q.S. 7.375–376). As soon as they set sail, Neoptolemus is brought up to speed regarding the war. Odysseus and Diomedes tell him about Achilles' achievements, more specifically—and relevantly chosen—his encounter with Eurypylus' father Telephus and the honour Achilles brought the Atreids (Q.S. 7.377–381). This has its effect on Neoptolemus, who not only swells with pride, but is also inspired by what he hears:

> τοῦ δ' ἰαίνετο θυμὸς ἐελδομένοιο καὶ αὐτοῦ
> πατρὸς ἀταρβήτοιο μένος καὶ κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.
> Q.S. 7.382–383

> This warmed his heart and kindled his desire
> To gain such might and glory as did his fearless father.

84 James notes that this is an unusually elaborate Ares simile (2004, 309). Ares images are often shorter comparisons, especially in Homer. Longer similes with the war god as a comparans are invariably less horrific: *Iliad* 7.208–212 (without a terrifying physical description) and 13.298–305 (Ares and Rout together). One other Ares simile, also for Neoptolemus, has a similarly sinister tone: Q.S. 9.219–223.

85 See Duckworth (1936, 83): "From this point on, the fate of Neoptolemus is linked with that of Eurypylus, and Quintus reverts to his normal technique and heightens the reader's anticipation by his frequent allusions to the coming death of Eurypylus. The very fact that Quintus gives this foreshadowing only after Neoptolemus joins the Greek forces shows, I believe, that the poet was withholding all such definite forecasts earlier in the episode for the express purpose of arousing uncertainty concerning the fate of his hero Neoptolemus."

86 Τέκνον occurs twice in Deidamia's speech (Q.S. 7.262 and 278) and once in that of Lycomedes (Q.S. 7.298), who also calls him τέκος (Q.S. 7.294). Παίς is how the narrator describes him when replying to his mother (Q.S. 7.287) and when Lycomedes kisses him goodbye (Q.S. 7.312), in Deidamia's focalization as she tries to hold him back despite her pride (Q.S. 7.327), when she is left behind among his toys (Q.S. 7.343) and when she gives him her most trustworthy servants to accompany him to Troy (Q.S. 7.350).

87 Κύδιμον υἷα μενεπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος (Q.S. 7.325), when Deidamia is not able to hold back her son, who is like an eager horse; Ἀχιλλέος υἷα θρασὺν (Q.S. 7.351), as he walks to the ships among his servants; Ἀχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ὄβριμον υἷα (Q.S. 7.355) in the joyful focalization of the sea gods; and Ἀχιλῆος ἐὺς πάις (Q.S. 7.365) at the end of the Ares simile.

Neoptolemus repeatedly longs to be like his father. The more strongly this is now emphasized, the clearer it becomes that this may actually be Neoptolemus' main motivation to join the war. His entire youth has been dedicated to the art of war. It is his dream—likely even his boyish dream—to become like his father and, as he himself firmly stated to his mother, to "do something worthy of Aeacus' bloodline" (Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.291). We now know that he has grown up to this ideal, and his symbolic departure from home has confirmed that he is suited for the task. The end of the embassy thus initiates Neoptolemus into his new life.[88] This does not mean, however, that Neoptolemus has abruptly reached adulthood. As the fleet reaches Troy, one of the first visible elements of the landscape is Achilles' tomb. "But that the son of Laertes had the wisdom not to show to Neoptolemus (Νεοπτολέμῳ) for fear of filling with sorrow the spirit within his breast" (Q.S. 7.403–406). As the new champion lays eyes on Troy for the first time, he is called by his own name at last; for the first time in this book and the second in the entire epic, but also in a situation in which Odysseus actually tries to protect him. Perhaps this is not so silly, since the boy is indeed 'new to war'.[89]

We have now seen how Neoptolemus was perceived before his first battle. Before discussing his real battle actions (which are grouped in section 4.2.2), I jump to the final part of Book 7, where Neoptolemus meets his Achaean comrades after that first fight. Again, his interaction with this environment reveals his youthful characterization and position in this war.

4.2.1.2 His Father's Kind?

Neoptolemus' welcome into the Achaean camp is a symbolic confrontation with his father. Those who once loved Achilles are caught at the very sight of Neoptolemus between hurtful memories about Achilles and joy in his replace-

88 Boyten calls this "the process of revelation", rather than of "acquisition". Just as Telemachus, Neoptolemus has to leave his home to reach adulthood. Telemachus will go through a process of *Bildung*, but Neoptolemus already possesses the capacities that he will need as an adult (2010, 205–206). I am not convinced that Neoptolemus' young war vigour is a sign of his maturity from the very beginning. For example, when he is called "beardless" (line 357), this only proves that he is exceptionally young in his courage; not that he need not grow a beard to become mature. As he accepts to sail to Troy eagerly and without hesitation, this could also be a sign of the young impetuosity of a boy who sees his dream come true (against Boyten 2010, 207–208). For further comparison between Neoptolemus and Telemachus, also on—according to Boyten—a meta-literary level, see ibid. (2010, 208–211). Other studies about Neoptolemus' initiation into adulthood include Spinoula (2008, 184–185).

89 For further elaboration of this idea, see section 4.3.2.

ment. This has been said about the horses in Q.S. 3.765, and will now be mirrored in the reactions of Phoenix (Q.S. 7.632–634) and Briseis (Q.S. 7.723–727). This ambivalence is significant for the young hero's characterization, for it confirms the obvious resemblance to his father, and raises high expectations of his future performances. In Phoenix' perception, this parallel even extends to Neoptolemus' youthfulness. After all, the old man knew Achilles since he was a child himself. Hence, τυτθὸν ἐόντ' about Achilles (Phoenix: Q.S. 7.643) recalls τυτθὸς ἐὼν about Neoptolemus (focalization Deidamia: Q.S. 7.340). Phoenix then describes how the former quickly bloomed into a vigorous man (Q.S. 7.644–654). He finishes his speech with specific predictions: the young hero will obtain honour by slaying Eurypylus:

> "τοῦ γὰρ ὑπέρτερός ἐσσι καὶ ἔσσεαι, ὅσσον ἀρείων
> σεῖο πατὴρ κείνοιο πέλεν μογεροῖο τοκῆος."
>
> Phoenix: Q.S. 7.665–666

> "You are and shall be as much superior to him [Eurypylus]
> As your father was mightier than his miserable parent."

This will indeed be Neoptolemus' biggest accomplishment on the battlefield, and he will be particularly celebrated for it, not only in the *Posthomerica* (during the feast after his victory: Q.S. 8.489–498, and in the triumphant song after the Sack: Q.S. 14.136–137), but also in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus mentions this particular victory to Achilles' spirit in the Underworld (*Odyssey* 11.519–520).[90] With the word ὑπέρτερος, Phoenix adopts the heroic discourse of, *inter alia*, Achilles earlier in the *Posthomerica*:[91] Neoptolemus can and will take over his father's place in the heroic hierarchy and will be rewarded for this action. Meanwhile, other Achaeans are already honouring him with uncountable gifts (γέρας: Q.S. 7.677), "no less than mighty Achilles" (Q.S. 7.674). Agamemnon, while celebrating his new champion (Q.S. 7.686–687), finds explicit joy in the complete resemblance of the son to his father and starts his speech with an extensive list of similarities: "ἀτρεκέως πάις ἐσσὶ θρασύφρονος Αἰακίδαο, | ὦ τέκος, οὕνεκά οἱ κρατερὸν μένος ἠδὲ καὶ εἶδος | καὶ μέγεθος καὶ θάρσος ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἔοικας" ("Truly you are the son of Aeacus' dauntless grandson, my child; you have his outstanding strength, appearance, and size, as well as his courage and

90 The other accomplishment for which Neoptolemus will be remembered, both in the *Odyssey* (Odysseus: 11.523–532) and—collectively—the *Posthomerica* (embedded focalization of the Achaean victory song: Q.S. 14.139–141) is the fact that he enters the Horse.

91 For a lemma study about the adjective ὑπέρτερος, see section 2.1.1 footnote 15.

inward qualities of mind", Agamemnon: Q.S. 7.689–692). He even compares the young man's actions to those of his father in the *Iliad*.[92] If Agamemnon can be believed, it is this resemblance that will save the Achaeans: "Because you are like your father" ("οὕνεκα πατρὶ ἔοικας", Agamemnon: Q.S. 7.695).

Strikingly, Neoptolemus' responses to all of this also highlight how the youth differs from his father. Whereas—judging from Books 1 and 2—Achilles would probably have agreed eagerly with Phoenix about his own superiority to Eurypylus, the youth replies in only two verses: "The judges of my prowess in battle will be almighty Fate and the powerful god of war" (Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.668–669; see also section 4.3.1). This speech is so brief and to the point that it also might indicate Neoptolemus' youthful impatience to resume battle, which is also expressed immediately afterwards, in Q.S. 7.670–673 (compare to the extensive description of his tirelessness in 7.578–585). In particular, Neoptolemus is excited about continuing the fight in the armour of his father (ἐν τεύχεσσιν ἑοῦ πατρός, Q.S. 7.671; see also Kneebone 2007, 288). To Agamemnon, who had mainly rejoiced in the boy because he seems to be an exact copy of his father, Neoptolemus replies that he wishes he had met his father while he was alive, "so that he could have seen for himself the son he loved bringing no shame on his mighty father, as I trust will happen if I am preserved by the carefree gods in heaven" (Neoptolemus: Q.S. 7.702–704). The narrator finds these words πινυτός, and the Achaeans admire him for them (Q.S. 7.705–706). It remains to be seen what part of his speech is wise and admirable, however. Do they praise his (recurrent) unwillingness to boast (see also his previous speeches in Q.S. 7.288 ff. and 668 ff.), some impression of general wisdom and rhetorical abilities (Boyten 2007, 311–312), or his 'submission to Fate' (Vian 1966 T2, 103–104)? One could wonder what is so particularly 'wise' about the current words, since the young hero shares this acceptance of human vanity with Eurypylus (see section 4.1.2.2), and refraining from making hasty or audacious commitments has met with approval earlier in the *Posthomerica* (compare Memnon in Book 2). Instead, one of the main messages of Neoptolemus' current speech seems to be that he pays honour to his father, and recognizes him as a heroic example. This also is an important consideration for Achilles' son in what follows. Hence, whereas all the other Achaeans see Achilles come back to life,[93] Neoptolemus

92 He refers to Achilles' saving intervention after Patroclus' death. See section 4.2.2.1 for further discussion.

93 There is a strong emphasis on this 'impression of resurrection' in the welcoming scene. Compare Phoenix' words ("you are his very image, so that I seem to see him living still among the Argives", Q.S. 7.653–654), to Agamemnon' words (quoted above), the actions of Achilles' maids ("around him on every side widowed captive women were making the

shows another kind of awareness regarding his relationship with his father. As he retires to his father's tent for the night, where he finds himself (virtually) alone for the first time, this is illustrated by a striking simile. The boy is struck by the environment, and suddenly another side of his emotional representation gets the upper hand: ὃ δ' ὡς ἴδεν ἔντεα Τρώων | καὶ δμωάς, στονάχησεν· ἔρος δέ μιν εἷλε τοκῆος ("The sight of the Trojan armor and servants made him groan with longing for his father", Q.S. 7.713–714). Neoptolemus is compared to a lion cub, sitting in the cave of its slain father and beholding the relics of the latter's kills (Q.S. 7.715–722). Much has been said about this simile. This image is an innovative reworking of the well-known lion comparans (Vian 1966 T2, 133 n. 2). James interprets the simile as "a seemingly original reversal of Homeric simile of a lion searching for its stolen young" (*Iliad* 18.318–322: 2004, 311), where the comparandum is Achilles grieving for Patroclus. Undeniably, the image is quite meaningful in its new form and as a token of the relationship between Achilles and Neoptolemus, as Boyten discusses in more detail (2010, 223–225). Moreover, this is not the first lion simile to describe Neoptolemus in Book 7 (Boyten 2010, 225–226 and Spinoula 2008, 32–36). Essentially, however, this particular simile highlights Neoptolemus' youth, as a cub, and his promising vigour, as a lion. Both aspects, which have not been forgotten during his formal welcome,[94] are now brought into relation with the emotions Neoptolemus experiences as the cub: love for his father and, for the first time, explicit grief for his death. The boy may be a source of comfort for the other Achaeans, but for himself, his own consolation can only come from memory. He is the cub *of* the lion, which marks a relationship of succession, rather than equality. Whereas his fellows mainly note the resemblance and, hence, project similar expectations on the young boy as they once did on his father, Neoptolemus is aware that he has things to prove. This makes him essentially different from Achilles, who has created the footsteps in which the boy now must follow—and is very eager to follow. The simile of the lion cub is an iconic conclusion to his appearance in Book 7 and, according to my reading of Neoptolemus thus far, a good summary of how the boy should be perceived on the eve of his greatest battle performance: he is not simply the lion, but his cub: promising yet young, eager yet uncertain, looked to with high expectation yet himself looking up to his father.

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quarters ready as though their lord was living", Q.S. 7.711–713) and Briseis' focalization ("her heart within her was struck with speechless wonder, for it was as if Aeacus' dauntless grandson himself was still alive", Q.S. 7.725–727).

94 Alongside their expectations, Phoenix and Agamemnon also keep addressing Neoptolemus as πάϊς (Agamemnon: Q.S. 7.689) and τέκος (Phoenix: Q.S. 7.642 and 659, and Agamemnon: Q.S. 7.690).

4.2.2 *The New Champion*

After the discussion of Neoptolemus' youth, the next section deals with the young hero's battle performances before (Book 7, section 4.2.2.1), during (first half of Book 8, section 4.2.2.2) and after (from Book 9 onward, section 4.2.3) his duel with Eurypylus, and how all of this relates to Achilles. Unlike all other new champions thus far, Neoptolemus literally tumbles into battle as soon as he sets foot ashore. This abrupt start to his contribution to the war again raises suspense in the narrative, stressing how much he is needed and how fearful an opponent Eurypylus thus far has been.[95] The precarious situation of the Achaeans is made clear as soon as the ship arrives: the wall would have fallen, were it not for Diomedes' quick reaction (Q.S. 7.417–421). Indeed, it is Diomedes who exhorts his travel companions to join the fight at once. This is not his first exhortation in the *Posthomerica*, but it is his first successful one.[96] Moreover, this is the first time during the embassy that Diomedes speaks. Only now the added value of his participation becomes fully clear: after Odysseus' diplomacy to get him to Troy, Diomedes is most fit to stir Neoptolemus into action to save the Achaeans. The boy responds eagerly, and throws himself headlong into the adventure of his life, the only one of the party to be unafraid (Q.S. 7.433–434).

4.2.2.1 Suited for the Job?

In the chaos of their arrival, the embassy must find armour as nearby as possible. Their ship has landed on "the spot where all the other ships had been beached" (Q.S. 7.413) and therefore, Odysseus' camp is closest (ἧ γὰρ ἔην ἄγχιστα νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο: Q.S. 7.436). The central position of Odysseus' ship in the Achaean camp is a famous Iliadic theme (*Iliad* 8.222–226 and 11.5–9) which is now of crucial importance to the Posthomeric plot. It is mentioned for the first time in Book 5, when Ajax loathed the 'cowardice' (Q.S. 5.211–214) and Odysseus defended the diplomatic symbolism of his ship's position (Q.S. 5.275–277: James 2004, 297). Although the courage of the outer ships was praised in the *Iliad* (James & Lee 2000, 87), the *Posthomerica* now seems to benefit from the ship in the middle. Once again, it turns out that Odysseus' arguments from Book 5

95 See Vian (1966 T2, 102). Keydell (1954) compares this scene to *Aeneid* 9. I will not go deeper into the comparison of this arrival to those of Penthesilea, Memnon and Eurypylus. For further discussion, see Calero Secall (1995b, 56–57).

96 Compare Q.S. 4.83 ff., where Ajax tempered Diomedes' fighting spirit in anticipation of the funeral games, and Q.S. 6.41 ff., where Calchas had a better response to Menelaus' feigned pessimism, namely sending out the embassy (discussed in section 4.1.1). The database of Verhelst (2016) catalogues all three as 'battle exhortations'. For her definition of this type of speech, and some basic observations about battle exhortations in Quintus, see also Verhelst (2016, 84–87 and n. 14).

indeed can guarantee the future of the Achaean army. Boyten would even call Odysseus the catalyst for introducing Neoptolemus to the heroic world (2010, 211–212). As he provides everyone with weapons from his own stores, Odysseus' selection follows significant criteria:

Ἔνθ' ἐσθλὸς μὲν ἔδυ καλὰ τεύχεα, τοὶ δὲ χέρεια
δῦσαν ὅσοις ἀλαπαδνὸν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ πέλεν ἦτορ.
(…)
Υἱὸς δ' αὖτ' Ἀχιλῆος ἐδύσετο τεύχεα πατρός,
καί οἱ φαίνετο πάμπαν ἀλίγκιος· ἀμφὶ δ' ἐλαφρὰ
Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσι περὶ μελέεσσιν ἀρήρει,
καί περ ἐόνθ' ἑτέροισι πελώρια· τῷ δ' ἅμα πάντα
φαίνετο τεύχεα κοῦφα· κάρη δέ οἱ οὔ τι βάρυνε
πήληξ ……………………………
…………………………………
450a ⟨Πηλιάς⟩, ἀλλά ἑ χερσὶ καὶ ἠλίβατόν περ ἐοῦσαν
451 ῥηιδίως ἀνάειρεν ἔθ' αἵματος ἰσχανόωσαν.

Q.S. 7.440–451

The brave put on the best of the armor, while the worse
Was donned by those whose breasts contained a feebler spirit.
(…)
The son of Achilles put on the armor of his father,
Which made him look exactly like him. Very lightly,
Because of Hephaestus' handiwork, it fitted his frame,
Though others would have found it enormous. But to him
The armor all seemed light. His head didn't feel the weight
Of the helmet …
… In spite of its massive bulk in his hands
He wielded with ease the spear that thirsted for blood.

This symbolic scene provides an exceptionally explicit instance of indirect metonymical characterization:[97] apparently, the narrator wants to make sure that the reader fully grasps what it means for Neoptolemus to wear the armour of his father: he becomes what he wears (Kneebone 2007, 288). His inheritance

97 A similar scene takes place in *Iliad* 14.381–382 (Vian 1966 T2, 122 n. 3 and James 2004, 309), where the Achaeans exchange gear to match their vigour before setting out against the Trojans who once again threaten their ships. This Posthomeric adaptation takes place in a similar situation, but seems to have a clearer function in the narrative.

of the armour is probably the most apparent part of the boy's assimilation to Achilles, which will play an important role throughout his own battle performances and especially his duel with Eurypylus. The immense Pelian spear may be the most impressive part of Achilles' old weapons.[98] In the *Iliad*, Patroclus could not lift it, and hence it was the most telling measurement of Achilles' superior force. *Iliad* 16.140–144 specifies that Achilles was the only Achaean who could wield it.[99] The immensity of the entire armour, and of the spear in particular, is also stressed at the end of Quintus' shield *ekphrasis* (Q.S. 5.102–120; spear: 118 ff.). Now, the famous spear thirsts for blood, and Neoptolemus is the first after his father to take it up. Maciver convincingly interprets Neoptolemus' ability to do so as an indication that "he has taken 'the sword of the stone'", which is—in an anachronistic way—comparable to the symbolism of Excalibur in the Arthurian myth (Maciver 2012b, 182).

Neoptolemus then launches himself into the attack to confront Eurypylus' power. A remarkable passage describes the latter's attack on the wall with a gigantic rock (Q.S. 7.498–502), which recalls Hector's assault in *Iliad* 12.445 ff. (Vian 1966 T2, 125 n. 1 and James 2004, 310). The Trojan champion still follows the line of his (mainly) Hector-like characterization, such as it has been established in Book 6. Meanwhile, the first moves of Neoptolemus are coloured by his resemblance to Achilles. However, these two heroes will not directly clash in Book 7. This first battle mainly serves to compare the power of both champions for the first time (Vian 1966 T2, 103). Initially, the scales are rather evenly weighted, but the balance gradually shifts in favour of the Achaeans.[100] More-

98 In the incomplete verse of the above fragment, it indeed seems plausible that the final part of Neoptolemus' arming scene describes how he takes up the spear. About the use of the word Πηλιάς, which is a (metrically fitting) addition by Vian in this verse, see also footnote 117.

99 Mazza calls this scene of dressing "a consecration of Neoptolemus as the new champion of the Greek army" (2014, 16).

100 Many hints of this equal balance are given. A particular example involves the use of lion similes in Books 6, 7 and 8. Spinoula points out that lion imagery is mostly focused on Eurypylus in Book 6, but on Neoptolemus from Book 8 onward (2008, 32–36; figures ibid. 34; further discussion of Book 6 ibid. 218 and Tomasso 2010, 136–138, who also relates these lions to Eurypylus' Heraclean descent and the Nemean lion in his shield description). In Book 7, however, the lion comparans can refer to either Eurypylus (Q.S. 7.486–493 and 7.516–517 in his own speech) or Neoptolemus (Q.S. 7.464–473 and 7.715–720). Moreover, the images of 464 ff. and 486 ff. display seemingly opposite situations: men attacked by lions and lions chased away by men. This could hint at their well-balanced odds. However, the attacker is always the Achaean army led by Neoptolemus. In another (not lion) image later in the same episode, the Trojans are depicted as men who attempt to chase away jackals or wolves, but they (the Achaeans) keep their ground (Q.S. 7.504–511).

over, as soon as the fresh troops charge, the first clear anticipation of Eurypylus' doom in the epic appears: "[Eurypylus was] exultant in hope of smashing the length of the wall and killing all the Argives at once. But that was a wish the gods would not fulfil" (Q.S. 7.480–482). From the moment when Neoptolemus arrives, his opponent's fate seems to be sealed (Duckworth 1936, 80 and n. 81). This foreshadowing is repeated after a threat that Eurypylus addresses to the Achaeans. Judging from his words, the Trojan hero seems unaware that Neoptolemus has arrived. He scorns the Achaeans in general for their cowardice and challenges them to meet him face to face again (Q.S. 7.513–521). The narrator comments: "He did not know that a terrible tide of disaster was not far from him, brought by the hands of dauntless Neoptolemus, who very soon would lay him low with his raging spear" (Q.S. 7.522–525). This very specific foreshadowing leaves no doubt about the eventual outcome. Nonetheless, Book 7 brings no relief for either party yet.

Immediately after Eurypylus' speech, the focus shifts back to Neoptolemus, and the effects of his counterattack become fully clear. The Trojans feel the pressure, but seem to be caught in the crossfire: on the one side, they cower away from the frontline, on the other they cannot or dare not (αἰδώς, Q.S. 7.544) pass Eurypylus, who, consistent with his representation in Book 6, firmly keeps his army in hand. This control is described in two similes: his authority is compared to a raging mountain stream that stops travellers on their way (Q.S. 7.545–552), and the Trojans are like children afraid of Zeus' thunderbolts (Neoptolemus), seeking refuge with their father (Q.S. 7.530–533).[101] The cause of this sudden tumult among the Trojans is their first glimpse of Achilles' son:

> Οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἀμηχανίῃ βεβολημένοι ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ
> Τρῶες ἔφαντ' Ἀχιλῆα πελώριον εἰσοράασθαι
> αὐτὸν ὁμῶς τεύχεσσι·
>
> Q.S. 7.537–539

> Bewilderment now paralyzed the hearts of the Trojans,
> Who thought they saw the towering figure of Achilles
> Clad in his own armour.

Hence, an implicit advantage for the Achaeans still seems to be suggested throughout this sequence.

101 This is a rather unusual simile (James 2004, 310), with telling implications for the representation of both champions: it simultaneously presents Neoptolemus as superior and Eurypylus as unyielding. Vian appreciates the passage of the doubting Trojans as "le morceau le plus original" of this battle (1966 T2, 103).

The sight—from afar—of a figure clad in Achilles' armour is enough to send the Trojans back in panic. Hence, this effect seems mainly to be caused by what Neoptolemus is wearing. This, in itself, could be called the 'Patroclus syndrome'. After all, like Patroclus earlier, Neoptolemus shows up in Achilles' armour to end a threatening *teichomachia* (compare *Iliad* 16.278–282). A few notable differences, however, should also be pointed out: the fact that Neoptolemus' intervention is more successful is of course indicated by the mere fact that he survives the fight. Moreover, the armour Neoptolemus now wears is not that which Patroclus lost to Hector, but that newly forged by Hephaestus.[102] Finally, Patroclus could not lift the famous spear. Neoptolemus may create an effect similar to Patroclus' at first sight, but his performance will be as effective as that of Achilles himself. During the formal welcome that follows upon this fight (discussed above in section 4.2.1.2), Agamemnon explicitly compares Neoptolemus' saving action to that of Achilles after Patroclus' death in the *Iliad*: "Indeed I seem to see him beside the ships, at the time when he shouted threats at the Trojans furious over the fall of Patroclus" (Agamemnon: Q.S. 7.695–697, referring to *Iliad* 18.215–229: Vian 1966 T2, 132 n. 3). Hence, this *teichomachia* combines the best of two worlds: Hector's supremacy, called to mind in Eurypylus' actions, is met with the very best Achilles himself has to offer.

Neoptolemus is acknowledged as an Achilles-like warrior on a more general basis as well, by both his fellow characters (friends and foes alike) and the narrator. For example, the narrator states that he is the strongest and the bravest of all (πολὺ φέρτατον ἄλλων | θάρσος ὁμοῦ καὶ κάρτος: Q.S. 7.564–565), because of his divine descent, calling to mind similar boasts of Achilles himself in the first books of the *Posthomerica*.[103] Neoptolemus is also explicitly compared to his father again (φίλῳ δ' ἤικτο τοκῆι: Q.S. 7.567), and is called the new ἄναξ of the Myrmidons at the end of the fight (Q.S. 7.603–605). Furthermore, two similes about the son recall his father on the Iliadic battlefield: Neoptolemus slaughters men like a fisherman who uses a ruse of fire to catch fish (Q.S. 7.569–576). A few lines later, his tirelessness and fearfulness in battle are compared to those of a river that stands firm against a fire (Q.S. 7.586–594). Both images have a certain affinity with Achilles' behaviour in *Iliad* 21, where the latter had been compared to a savage dolphin killing fish (*Iliad* 21.22–26) and was at the centre of a cosmic clash between the river Scamander and Hephaestus' fire (*Iliad* 21.211–382). In this, I agree with James (2004, 310), Schmitz (2007, 75–76) and

102 The Posthomeric descriptions of the armour thus far have stressed that Hephaestus is their creator (Q.S. 5.3–5, 7.197–201 and 446–448). See also Vian (1966 T2, 23 n. 1).

103 E.g. Achilles' boast to Penthesilea (Q.S. 1.577–582). In the same speech, he also reminded her of the fact that he has killed Hector.

Boyten (2010, 233), rather than with Vian, who does not go beyond "il n'existe aucun rapprochement précis avec le combat homérique d'Héphaistos contre le Scamandre" (1966 T2, 128 n. 2). To me, this passage seems to be one of the examples where the general outline of a scene can be more telling than any 'rapprochement précis'. Still, if an exact comparison to Achilles' struggle in the *Iliad* must be conducted, some curious changes stand out. Neoptolemus is associated with one of the two cosmic powers in play, and more specifically the one that attempted to drown Achilles in the *Iliad*. Though the river Scamander was eventually defeated, this river stands firm, and where Achilles may have been temporarily distressed in *Iliad* 21 (e.g. lines 246–248, 270), this simile makes explicit the fearlessness and tirelessness of Neoptolemus. Both Schmitz and Boyten (ibid.) cite this simile an example of Neoptolemus' ability to fill his father's place without being inferior to him.[104] Moreover, a telling detail in the fishing simile is that the fisherman makes use of "Hephaestus' might" to ensnare his prey.[105] Given the great importance attached to Neoptolemus donning his father's armour, which has extensively been described as Hephaestus' work before, it could be argued that the glittering power of fire that becomes the Trojans' doom is the armour itself (Kneebone 2007, 298). After all, the task of the fisherman and the location of the fire in the simile are clearly described: φέρει μένος Ἡφαίστοιο | νηὸς ἑῆς ἔντοσθε ("He carries the the fire god's power on board his boat", Q.S. 7.570–571). Similarly, Neoptolemus' appearance by the ships, adorned by his wearing of Achilles' armour, is the real life-saviour for the Achaeans, and the Trojans' cause for panic. The other 'Achilles-like' simile also

104 Langella suggests the intertext of the Scylla episode in the *Odyssey* and, therefore, an association with monstrosity of the fisher (2016, 577).

105 This remarkable fishing technique is probably based on Oppian's *Halieutica* (4.640–646) and may seem somewhat puzzling in this battle context. An extensive study of this intertext has been conducted by Kneebone (2007). She understands the image as an opportunity to focus on Neoptolemus' developing warrior identity. Her analysis strongly focuses on an apparent difference with Achilles that is established in this simile: the fisherman uses both ruse and violence to obtain his ultimate goal, whereas Achilles himself was a man of mere force. This theory, which certainly makes strong points about a shift of focus in battle tactics in the last part of the *Posthomerica*, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. For this passage in the epic, however, I am not convinced of its relevance. If there is indeed a clear difference between this and other, purely violent fishing similes (for more examples, see the list in Kneebone 2007, 290, n. 20), there equally is a discrepancy between the comparans of this particular simile, where ruse holds a central position, and its comparandum, where Neoptolemus' intervention is successful thanks to his appearance and strength. The tertium comparationis is about the masses he kills, with no mention of how this happens. Ruse does not seem to come into play here. Even later on in the epic, Neoptolemus will remain a fervent opponent of that 'cowardly' tactic (more about this in Chapter 5).

relates to Neoptolemus' practices on the battlefield. The μένος Ἡφαίστοιο, used for Neoptolemus in the first simile (Q.S. 7.570), is echoed by the word μένος (for the power of the river, that is, again, Neoptolemus) in the simile about the river (line 587, in an incomplete verse). Later on in this simile, it turns out that the river stands against the μένος Ἡφαίστοιο himself. This could refer to Neoptolemus' equally strong opponent Eurypylus (line 589), who was compared to a torrent himself earlier on in the fight (Q.S. 7.545–553). It would not be the first time in Book 7 that comparantia are interchanged between Eurypylus and Neoptolemus.[106] In this specific case, Neoptolemus' role as the river may remind the reader of the fact that his father was engulfed by water during Scamander's attack in *Iliad* 21. As a whole, however, the confrontation between fire and water also marks a specific difference with that passage in the *Iliad*, where Scamander flooded the plains and Hephaestus boiled its water: in Neoptolemus' simile, neither water nor fire gets the upper hand, and—even more significantly—the powers do not even clash. This may well be an implied tertium comparationis of the river simile: Neoptolemus and Eurypylus are two very strong fighters, but their confrontation will not yet take place. Reading both similes successively, the two smaller images could even merge into one bigger picture of the current battle situation: what first appears is a man in the water (on a boat, in the simile), successfully using a flame as his weapon. Zooming out, then, it turns out that the water in itself stands firm against a big fire. Similarly, Neoptolemus' appearance in full armour on the Achaean wall stays the larger attack of Eurypylus, and creates a *status quo* in which neither force gets the upper hand. Neoptolemus in his armour is hence staged as the fitting remedy for the great force of Eurypylus, which has been oppressing the Achaean wall since the previous book. This reading is more speculative, but does fit within the narrative situation of Book 7. The more explicit tertium of this simile, however, is focused on Neoptolemus' characterization, specifically his tirelessness and fearlessness throughout the fight.[107] Moreover, the young hero does not take any wound, thanks to the good protection of his armour and weapons, and "in these the mighty son of Aeacus' grandson exulted" (Q.S. 7.599).[108] This mention seems to provide another opportunity to draw atten-

106 See also the lion similes, footnote 100.

107 This is a typical feature of Neoptolemus throughout the epic, extensively described before the similes in Q.S. 7.578–586. Further mention of his ever-lasting energy is made in e.g. Q.S. 7.670–673 (even during his formal welcome he yearns to return to battle), 8.493–496 (after battle) and 9.197 (during battle).

108 The fact that Neoptolemus remains unharmed has indeed been mentioned by Odysseus to Achilles in the Underworld (*Odyssey* 11.535–537) and Quintus now relates it to the armour.

tion to the armour he is wearing, which has played a considerable role in his warrior performances thus far.

Neoptolemus' extreme eagerness in battle can only be tempered by sunset, and the fight ends just as it started, with an if-not situation. Diomedes was the central figure at its beginning, and Neoptolemus at its end: "Every single Argive would have perished then beside their ships, had not the mighty son of Achilles that very day defended them from the foe's great army and their leader Eurypylus" (Q.S. 7.626–630). Much like at the end of Book 6, however, the Trojans stay close to the ships for the night (Q.S. 7.623–624). For the first time in this epic, a book ends with two camps sleeping well, rejoicing in their chances for the next day. The last words of *Posthomerica* 7 are dedicated to Eurypylus, who is being honoured as "no less than noble Hector when he was slaying the Argives in defense of his city and all its property" (Q.S. 7.730–731)—one of the explicit comparisons of Eurypylus to Hector in the *Posthomerica*. Neoptolemus' first battle is not yet complete. Book 7 has raised suspense about an upcoming confrontation between the two major champions, associated with Hector and Achilles at their best. In Book 8, they will finally meet.

4.2.2.2 The Spear That Kills

The new day at the beginning of *Posthomerica* 8 starts with—at first view—fairly even odds for both sides, but also a third anticipation of Eurypylus' doom (Q.S. 8.5–12). Afterwards, Neoptolemus' morning exhortation attracts the attention:

> “(…) Ἀλλ’ ἄγε πάντες ἐς Ἄρεα καρτύνασθε,
> ὄφρα μὴ ἀμπνεύσῃ Τρώων στρατός, ἀλλ’ Ἀχιλῆα
> φαίῃ ἔτι ζώοντα μετέμμεναι Ἀργείοισιν.”
>
> Neoptolemus: Q.S. 8.20–22

> "So let us all be girt with strength for war,
> To leave the Trojan army no breathing space and make them
> Believe that Achilles is still alive in the Argive ranks".

Again, the son of Achilles aims to be as effective as his father on the battlefield and, suiting the action to the word, dons his father's armour to ride out on his father's chariot. His appearance beyond the wall is likened to the sun rising

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Boyten also points out Neoptolemus' not taking a wound as another contrast with his father (2010, 233).

from the ocean, together with baneful Sirius (Q.S. 8.28–33). This image is rich in references to Achilles in both Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 22.25–32: Achilles rides out as an ominous star to confront Hector)[109] and the *Posthomerica* (Q.S. 2.208–212: Achilles appears as the rising sun). Maciver therefore states that this image depicts Neoptolemus as a second Achilles, taking the place of his father, and a similar outcome is foreshadowed (2012b, 183–188).[110] The horses carry Neoptolemus to battle, glad of their new master's likeness to Achilles (Q.S. 8.33–38). Thus, it is, again, Neoptolemus' physical resemblance to Achilles, caused especially by the armour he wears, that is the focus of joy and anticipated success before today's battle.

What follows is the largest clash of armies thus far in the *Posthomerica*. The fighting starts with a climactic sequence of four similes. It is compared to wasps (Q.S. 8.41–46), a dark winter cloud (8.49–54), two clashing waves in a storm (8.59–68) and, finally, the crash of thunder and lightning (8.69–74). Only the first image is clearly dedicated to the Achaean side. The last three images could refer to both armies together, and these comparantia give the impression of a terrible storm gradually drawing nearer and eventually exploding. The closest Posthomeric parallel to this violent clash can be found in Book 6, where the approaching armies were described in three successive similes: the Trojans set out like bees (Q.S. 6.324–327) and a sea storm (6.330–335), the Argives meet them like calves returning to the meadows in spring (6.341–347). This appears to be the beginning of the fiercest battle in the *Posthomerica*. Eurypylus and Neoptolemus finally come face to face in line 8.134. Their mutual flyting speeches are remarkable. Eurypylus proves his own worth by stating that thus far, no man has survived an encounter with him. However, he also seems to be the only hero in the universe of the *Posthomerica* who does not recognize Neoptolemus upon sight. He simply asks him who he is and why he is so proud of his horses (Eurypylus: Q.S. 8.137–145; 145 for his blunt question). Thus, he creates a situation in which Neoptolemus' identity can be discussed. Indeed, the young hero's reply is telling for his own characterization, not only because of the contents of the speech, but also because of the way in which Neoptolemus speaks:

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109 Moreover, Achilles' weapons are likened to the dawning sun in *Iliad* 22.134–135 (see also section 2.3.2). This brief comparison immediately follows upon the mention that Achilles is carrying his Pelian spear. This is how Achilles is perceived by a trembling Hector, who flees at the sight.

110 Maciver further discusses the Apollonian and Vergilian intertexts of these passage (2012b, 190–192). It is striking, indeed, that Neoptolemus could again be associated with Jason (this time his radiant appearance to Medea in *Argonautica* 3.957–959). See also footnote 83.

"Τίπτε μ' ἐπισπεύδοντα ποτὶ κλόνον αἱματόεντα
ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν ὡς εἴ τε φίλα φρονέων ἐρεείνεις
εἰπέμεναι γενεήν, ἥν περ μάλα πολλοὶ ἴσασιν;
Υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος κρατερόφρονος, ὅς τε τοκῆα
σεῖο πάροιθ' ἐφόβησε βαλὼν περιμήκεϊ δουρί·
(…)
Ἵπποι δ' οἳ φορέουσιν ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἀντιθέοιο,
(…)
Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν γενεὴν ἐδάης ἵππων τε καὶ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ δόρατος πείρησαι ἀτειρέος ἡμετέροιο
γνώμεναι ἀντιβίην· γενεὴ δέ οἱ ἐν κορυφῇσι
Πηλίου αἰπεινοῖο, τομὴν ὅθι λεῖπε καὶ εὐνήν."

Neoptolemus: Q.S. 8.147–161

"Why, when I am intent on spilling blood in battle,
Like a foe pretending to be a friend, do you ask me
To tell you my lineage, which is known to very many?
I am the son of stalwarthearted Achilles, the one
Who with his long spear's blow once put your parent to flight.
(…)
The horses that carry me are those of my godlike father.
(…)
Now that you know my horses' lineage and my own,
You must also learn about my tireless spear
By testing it face-to-face. Its lineage belongs
To Pelion's lofty heights, where it left its stump and bed."

Paradoxically, the longest speech of Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*[111] begins with an expression of his impatience to start battle. The boy does not seem to understand why Eurypylus asks him questions instead of just attacking. This reaction could be another indication of Neoptolemus' impetuous character, as well as of his lack of experience in battle, since he is not aware of the heroic convention of knowing whom you fight. On the other hand, he seems offended because he is not recognized, which causes him to expand at length upon his identity. In the long (for him) account that follows, Neoptolemus only focuses on his descent from Achilles: he expands upon the latter's victory over Tele-

111 At fifteen lines, this is indeed his longest speech by far. For further analysis of Neoptolemus' rhetoric, see section 4.3.1.

phus[112] and, extensively, the lineage of the divine horses. It should be noted, however, that the young hero does not mention his own name, nor will he ever do so in the *Posthomerica*. This is an intriguing indication of how the boy perceives his own identity: he is in Troy, and faces Eurypylus, as the son of Achilles before anything else.[113] Unasked, he also adds a final—and crucial—part of his inheritance, namely his spear.[114] This spear indeed takes the central place in the duel that follows.

As the two enemies rush towards each other, Neoptolemus handles his spear, but Eurypylus a massive rock (Q.S. 8.162–165), a seemingly queer choice for the first attack. It could perhaps be stated, however, that both heroes are wielding symbolic weapons: Neoptolemus has explicitly announced Achilles' infamous spear and Eurypylus, just as Hector, has whirled rocks before.[115] After a first, unsuccessful attack, the fight carries on for a while, illustrated with similes and interrupted by short digressions and divine focalization, used to stress the temporary equality of both heroes. All of this is not unlike the duel between Memnon and Achilles in Book 2 (Toledano Vargas 2002, 31–32). In fact, additional similarities between the two encounters could be listed, such as the shining appearance of Neoptolemus (Maciver 2012b, 183–186; discussed above). Interpretations of this parallelism vastly differ. As discussed in section 2.3.2, the duel in Q.S. 2.452–546 could in itself be considered a recurrence of the duel between Hector and Achilles in *Iliad* 22, although Memnon, unlike Eurypylus, has never literally been compared to Hector. As the third and last Trojan champion to attempt to save Troy after Hector, Eurypylus' actions have thus far been deemed a climax in the narrative, from the Trojan point of view. However, Memnon had also made a most respectable attempt. Moreover, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus describes Eurypylus (as Neoptolemus' most important victim) with the following words: κεῖνον [Eurypylus] δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον ("He was the handsomest man I saw, next to noble Memnon", *Odyssey* 11.522). He thus hints at a hierarchy of either the valour or the mere chronology in which both heroes arrive in Troy. In either case, rereading Quintus with this Homeric statement in mind justifies the rather explicit parallels between Eurypylus

112 This is the third time an Achaean mentions Telephus as a precedent for this duel. Diomedes and Odysseus had told Neoptolemus about it on the ship (Q.S. 7.379–380) and Phoenix had compared the extent of Neoptolemus' superiority over Eurypylus to that of Achilles over Telephus (Q.S. 7.665–666). Neoptolemus seems to have understood their message and now uses the information in his own flyting speech.

113 See again below, section 4.3.3.

114 For its significance in the light of genealogy, see also Camerotto (2011, 426–427).

115 Hector in *Iliad* 7.263ff. (be it not quite successfully) and during the *teichomachia* in *Iliad* 12.445ff., the latter attack mirrored by Eurypylus in Q.S. 7.498–502.

and Memnon. Whether Neoptolemus outdoes his father (as Boyten 2010, 227 would suggest) or the other way around is hard to determine, but Neoptolemus has certainly encountered the best possible opponent after Memnon, and thus proceeds in Achilles' Iliadic *and* Posthomeric footsteps, facing both a Hector figure and 'the best after Memnon' (see also Maciver 2012b, 191). In the end, Neoptolemus fatally strikes his opponent:

(…) Ὀψὲ δὲ μακρὴ
Πηλιὰς Εὐρυπύλοιο διήλυθεν ἀνθερεῶνος
πολλὰ πονησαμένη· (…)
Q.S. 8.199–201

(…) At last the great long
Pelian spear cut through the throat of Eurypylus
After all that toil. (…)

In *Iliad* 22.326–327, Achilles pierces Hector's throat with the same spear (James 2004, 313), and the *Posthomerica* quite explicitly remembers that particular fact. *Iliad* 22.325–326 is referred to by Andromache (Q.S. 1.110) and Achilles (Q.S. 1.581), twice with the spear itself as the subject of the sentence (contrary to the passage in the *Iliad*). Ajax in Q.S. 3.254–255 also states that Hector feared "our spear" (this passage is discussed in section 3.2.2). Finally, the spear is said to be "reeking still of the gore that came from Hector's wounds" during its description in Book 5 (Q.S. 5.120). Neoptolemus' current act is presented as a continuance of what the spear has done in the *Iliad*. Only now, and in contrast to that Iliadic passage, the Pelian spear is the subject of the sentence in which the deadly blow is dealt. This phrasing stages the weapon itself as the main actor of the killing. Πηλιάς is in itself a significant word choice. In Homer, it is used five times for Achilles' spear, always in combination with the word μελίη.[116] Quintus uses the word independently, as if it were the proper name for the weapon. Moreover, it occurs only twice with certainty: at the end of the *ekphrasis* (Q.S. 5.119) and at this moment, when Pelias pierces Eurypylus' throat.[117] This word choice

116 *Iliad* 16.143 (Patroclus cannot lift it), 19.390 (only Achilles can wield it), 20.277, 21.162 and 22.133; not for Hector's fatal blow. Apollonius applies this word to the Argo (e.g. *Argonautica* 1.386 and 525). Bär makes an extensive study of the word μελίη as Achilles' weapon in the *Iliad*, and the resonance of this memory in the Posthomeric use (in the singular form; 2009, 319–322).

117 Vian adds the word once more, to the damaged verse 450a in Book 7, during the symbolic arming scene. See footnote 98.

stresses the importance of the moment and gives the weapon a fairly proper identity, which Neoptolemus again underlines in his triumphant speech:

> "ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοί σ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀκάματόν περ ἐόντα
> πατρὸς ἐμοῖο μέγ' ἔγχος, ὅ περ βροτὸς οὔ τις ἄλυξεν
> ἡμῖν ἄντα μολών, οὐδ' εἰ παγχάλκεος ἦεν."
>
> Neoptolemus: Q.S. 8.214–216

> "For all your tireless strength you have been destroyed
> By my father's mighty spear, which none has ever escaped
> Of those who came to face us,[118] even if made of bronze"

Whereas Eurypylus had boasted that no-one thus far had survived a confrontation with him (Q.S. 8.141–144), Neoptolemus finds the spear a necessary tool for his victory. It is significant that, just like the narrator before, Neoptolemus seems to give more credit to the weapon than to himself for this great achievement. In fact, it seems as if the spear was acting on its own behalf. The translator does not render ὑπ' ἐμοί, which should signify something like "by my hand". LSJ proposes, *inter alia*, the following translation for ὑπό in the dative case: "Of the person: under whose hand, power, or influence, or the thing by or through which a thing is done" (translation B II). This is important to know in order to fully grasp the meaning of this passage: it seems to suggest that Neoptolemus is the means by which the spear has killed its opponent, rather than the other way around. This idea recurs on other occasions in the *Posthomerica*: even when Neoptolemus is the grammatical subject of a verb in which he kills, the spear is often prominent.[119] Looking back to Book 3, Achilles' dying words had predicted that the spear would be characteristic for his succession: "Οὐδὲ θανόντος |

118 I have corrected the translator's 'me' to 'us', which more literally represents the Greek.

119 E.g. as Neoptolemus appears in the battle of Book 9: τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ μελίῃ πουλὺς στρατὸς ἐν κονίῃσι | πῖπτεν ὁμῶς ἵπποισιν ("By his spear a mighty host of men was falling in the dust with their horses", Q.S. 9.184–185), and as he challenges Deiphobus later on in the same book: "ἀλλὰ σοὶ εἴ περ ὑπὸ κραδίῃ μένος ἐστίν, | ἡμετέρης πείρησαι ἀνὰ κλόνον ἀσχέτου αἰχμῆς" ("If there is any spirit in your breast, make trial of my invincible spear in combat", Neoptolemus: Q.S. 9.252–253). In Book 10, the young hero himself is subject of the sentence in which he kills twelve Trojans, but his weapon is specifically described as ἔγχεϊ πατρὸς ἑοῖο (Q.S. 10.85), and similarly in Book 11, when Thetis averts the weapon from Aeneas (δόρυ πατρὸς ἑοῖο, Q.S. 11.239). In Books 13 and 14, Neoptolemus uses a sword rather than the spear to kill Priam and Polyxena, which could make sense, given the very different circumstances of these murders (see sections 6.2 and 7.2).

ἔγχος ἐμὸν φεύξεσθε ἀμείλιχον” (“Even when I’m dead you won’t escape my merciless spear”, Achilles: Q.S. 3.167–168; see also section 4.1.1). After this victory, Neoptolemus also seems to acknowledge that: during an armistice in Book 9, he finally visits his father’s grave. This is his first encounter with the tomb of Achilles. Odysseus had prevented him from making visual contact earlier, during the embassy. In many ways, Neoptolemus now seems more ready to face it, after his greatest victory and while Eurypylus is buried on the other side.[120] Neoptolemus addresses his father directly and honours his memory. He repeats his regret at not having known him personally, but reassures him:

> “Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς σέο νόσφι καὶ ἐν φθιμένοισιν ἐόντος
> σὸν δόρυ καὶ τεὸν υἷα μέγ’ ἐν δαῒ πεφρίκασι
> δυσμενέες, Δαναοὶ δὲ γεγηθότες εἰσορόωσι
> σοὶ δέμας ἠδὲ φυὴν ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ καὶ ἔργα.”
>
> Neoptolemus: Q.S. 9.57–60

> “Even with you [Achilles] far away among the dead
> Your spear and your son in the fray are filling the foe
> With terror, while the Danaans rejoice in the sight
> Of one who is like you in body and spirits and deeds”

The spear and the son (in that order) still roam the battlefield. What causes Trojan distress and Achaean joy is exactly this image, these deeds in resemblance to Achilles. Hence, Neoptolemus’ appearance on the battlefield brings honour to the deceased Achilles, not in the least during the major victory he has just achieved. Thus far, Achilles’ armour has always been a major focus in the characterization of Neoptolemus. It was explicitly meaningful for his initiation into battle and has also played an essential part in his major duel. An essential task for Neoptolemus in the succession of his father thus seems to be to take over Achilles’ weapons and wield them again.

4.2.3 *In the Name of the Father*

What to do with—or against—this Achilles-like figure, then? This question is most explicitly addressed in the battle of Book 9, after Eurypylus’ death. By

120 Eurypylus’ funeral is mentioned only briefly, but the fallen champion is honoured like one of Priam’s children (Q.S. 9.42). Although this burial lacks an extensive description such as was dedicated to all the other great champions, both Achaeans and Trojans, who have died in the *Posthomerica*, the mere fact that he is buried during an armistice and ‘like one of the Priamides’ recalls Hector one last time.

now, the Trojans have reached utter despair, and Neoptolemus seems to be their main concern. At the beginning of the book, Antenor prays to Zeus:

> "(…) καὶ ὄβριμον ἄνδρα πόληος
> τρέψον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης ὀλοὰ φρεσὶ μητιόωντα,
> εἴ θ' ὅ γ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστι καὶ οὐ κίε δῶμ' Ἀΐδαο,
> εἴ τέ τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἀλίγκιος ἀνέρι κείνῳ·"
>
> Antenor: Q.S. 9.10–13

> "(…) Turn that mighty man
> With his murderous intentions away from this city of ours,
> Be he Achilles, who did not after all go to Hades,
> Or some other Achaean who has that man's appearance."

Deiphobus, who is inspired with courage by Zeus, states in response:

> "(…) οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
> ζωὸς ἔθ' ἡμῖν ἄντα μαχήσεται, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
> πῦρ ὀλοὸν κατέδαψε· πέλει δέ τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
> ὅς νῦν λαὸν ἄγειρεν. (…)"
>
> Deiphobus: Q.S. 9.97–100

> "(…) Achilles
> No longer lives to fight against us now that he
> Has been consumed by fire. It is some other Achaean
> Who now has rallied their army. (…)"

Deiphobus also leads the day's attack and is quite successful, at least until Neoptolemus rides to meet him in person. Ignorant of Deiphobus' identity, the young hero is informed by Automedon that this Trojan Prince used to be afraid of Achilles as well (Q.S. 9.227–229).[121] Indeed, as soon as Neoptolemus approaches, the Trojan hero is paralyzed with fear. His current emotions contradict the words he had boldly spoken before:

> θάμβεε δ' εἰσορόων κρατερόφρονος Αἰακίδαο
> ἵππους ἠδὲ καὶ υἷα πελώριον, οὔ τι τοκῆος
> μείονα· (…)
>
> Q.S. 9.236–238

121 However, Vian cannot find direct references to an Iliadic precedent here (1966 T2, 189 n. 1).

> He was astounded to see the horses of Aeacus'
> Stouthearted grandson with one who matched his father's enormous
> Stature. (…)

Neoptolemus' mere appearance seems to have an 'Achilles effect' on Deiphobus, and eventually, the Trojan has to be saved by Apollo (Q.S. 9.256–258).[122] Just like his father, Neoptolemus shows utter disdain for this divine escape (compare Achilles' anger about Apollo's cowardly arrow in *Posthomerica* 3 to Neoptolemus' present scorn in 9.261–263). Next, he rushes at the gates in quite an Achilles-like fashion (πατρὶ ἐοικὼς: Q.S. 9.268) and exhorts his troops:

> "Κλῦτε, φίλοι, καὶ θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βάλεσθε
> ἄτρομον, οἷον ἔοικε φορήμεναι ἀνέρας ἐσθλοὺς
> νίκην ἱεμένους ἐρικυδέα χερσὶν ἀρέσθαι
> καὶ κλέος ἐκ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος. Ἀλλ' ἄγε θυμὸν
> παρθέμενοι πονεώμεθ' ὑπὲρ μένος, εἰς ὅ κε Τροίης
> πέρσωμεν κλυτὸν ἄστυ καὶ ἐκτελέσωμεν ἐέλδωρ·
> αἰδὼς γὰρ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔνθα μένοντας
> ἔμμεναι ἀπρήκτους καὶ ἀνάλκιδας, οἷα γυναῖκας·
> τεθναίην γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπτόλεμος καλεοίμην."
>
> Neoptolemus: Q.S. 9.275–283

> "Listen to me, my friends, and fill your breasts with fearless
> Courage, the kind that men of valor ought to have
> If they want to win for themselves a splendid victory
> And glory from the tumult of battle. Let us therefore
> Risk our lives and strive beyond our strength, until
> We achieve our desire to sack the famous city of Troy.
> It is a disgrace to stay here such a long time
> Achieving nothing and showing ourselves as weak as women.
> I would rather die than be called unfit for war."

Here, Neoptolemus clearly explicates his heroic code, with a telling pun on his name at the end (ἀπτόλεμος, line 283): better to die bravely in battle than to

---

122 Vian identifies similarities with Agenor's doubt whether to confront Achilles and the divine rescue of Hector from Achilles, in *Iliad* 21 and 20, respectively (1966 T2, 189 n. 6 and 19 n. 3). Divine rescue operations happen occasionally in the *Iliad*, but are unusual in the *Posthomerica* (James 2004, xxvii–xxviii, 317). Hence, the Deiphobus episode is rather emphatic.

suffer disgrace. As a true heir to his father, he will defend their shared heroic conviction throughout the rest of the *Posthomerica*, both with words and with deeds. At a certain point in Book 9, this angers Apollo so much that he intends to kill Neoptolemus instantly, on the exact spot where Achilles died (Q.S. 9.304–306). Even the descent of the god from Olympus seems similar to Q.S. 3.32–36: he comes down with a flash (Q.S. 9.295) and clattering quiver (Q.S. 9.296) and calls out σμερδαλέον (Q.S. 3.37, 9.299).[123] This time, however, Poseidon stops the god in time (Q.S. 9.313–320). With the end of that day's fight quickly thereafter, Neoptolemus' most prominent period on the battlefield comes to an end. It is intriguing to note how the young hero has reached Achillean standards, especially by the end of this last fight (Kneebone 2007, 301 n. 65) and in the sinister climax that nearly results in his death. The Trojans have tried to face him, but must acknowledge that he is equal to his father, and the young hero even succeeds in raising Apollo's anger against him to the same extent as Achilles. With the same weapons and convictions, Neoptolemus has secured his place on the battlefield.

In the subsequent books, he may not (always) be prominent, but his deeds speak for the kind of hero he has become. In Book 10, Neoptolemus' only—quite brief—accomplishment is the slaughter of twelve Trojans (84–96). The specific number of twelve and the fact that this is singled out as his only noteworthy act of the day may recall Achilles' capture and murder of twelve Trojans on the pyre of Patroclus (referred to in *Iliad* 21.27–33, 23.22–23 and 23.175–176: Vian 1969 T3, 19 n. 7). In Book 11, which is essentially a battle book, Neoptolemus makes four briefer appearances: in a short *aristeia* (which is followed by those of other heroes), a few of his victims are listed (Q.S. 11.20–40). Later on, he encourages the Achaeans: "You cowards, why are you running away (…) But let us now take courage, for it is far better to perish in battle than to opt for feeble flight" (Neoptolemus: Q.S. 11.217–220). With these words, he repeats the last line of the exhortation at the end of Book 9, and leads the Myrmidons and other Argives into battle, killing φίλῳ πατρὶ θυμὸν ἐοικώς ("endued with his father's spirit", Q.S. 11.226). In the *teichomachia* of the same book, the men under his command toil and suffer from the successful Trojan defence (Q.S. 11.345–351), but Neoptolemus is stubborn and will not have them withdraw before Troy is on fire (Q.S. 11.433–435), even if the conclusion of Book 11 must inevitably be that battle proves ineffective (Q.S. 11.501). In the end, Neoptolemus relentlessly follows his one (Aeacidean) ideal: to fight bravely and not suffer dishonour. Whether this ideal will prove able to conquer Troy, however, has to be evaluated in Book 12 to 14 (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

123 For further references, see Vian (1966 T2, 191 n. 3).

4.3 Overview: What's in a Name?

In conclusion to this study of Neoptolemus on the battlefield, I would like to return to an aspect of his characterization that has occasionally been mentioned, but deserves more detailed discussion: the different ways in which Neoptolemus is named throughout the epic, and the impact of *antonomasia*. De Temmerman refers to the rhetorical technique of 'antonomasia', or "the substitution of a proper name by a word or paraphrase", as a possible means of characterization (2014, 33). It is hard to provide exact statistical data for all words and word groups that refer to Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*, and the study below does not strive to be exhaustive. However, even a simple search of the name Νεοπτόλεμος leads to a remarkable observation about its use in the epic.

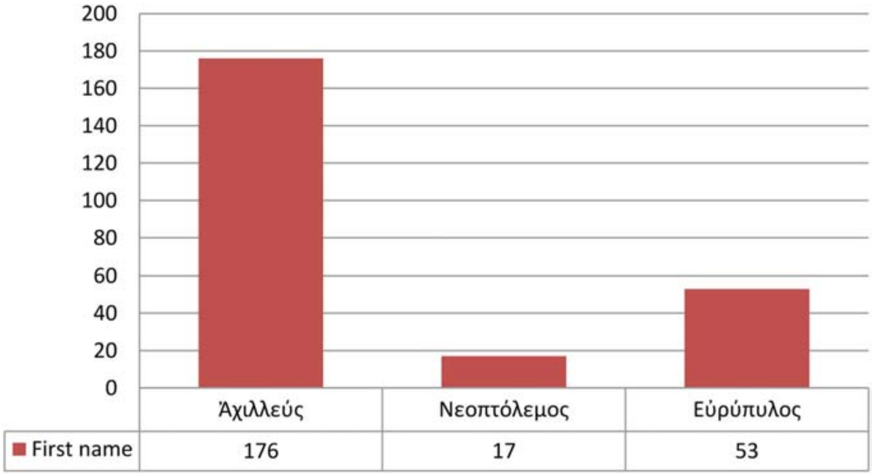

FIGURE 5 The use of Ἀχιλλεύς, Νεοπτόλεμος and Εὐρύπυλος in the *Posthomerica*

The figure above provides absolute numbers for the occurrence of each of the following three first names throughout the *Posthomerica*: Ἀχιλλεύς (176), Νεοπτόλεμος (17) and Εὐρύπυλος, son of Telephus (53).[124] Although Eurypylus' part in the *Posthomerica* is shorter, he is called by his own name more than three times as often as Neoptolemus. Ἀχιλλεύς is, unsurprisingly, a more frequent name. However, more than one third of these occurrences (61 in total) are actually found in the expression "the son[125] of Achilles", hence actually referring to

124 These and the following numbers are derived from Vian & Battegay (1984) and the TLG.
125 I searched for the words τέκος, τέκνον, παῖς and υἱός.

Neoptolemus. Achilles himself is, obviously, also often referred to as "the son of Peleus" in the *Posthomerica*. However, the use of his own name is still more frequent than patronyms: TLG counts 31 occurrences of Πηλείδης, 24 for Πηλείων, one for Πηλήιος and 48 for Αἰακίδης (46 times in the singular, of which 7 do not refer to Achilles, according to Vian & Battegay 1984, 14). Of the proper name Πηλεύς, only 11 out of 26 occurrences figure in an expression "son of Peleus". All of this adds up to 106 patronymic expressions for Achilles, compared to 176 uses of his own name in the *Posthomerica*. Boyten has conducted similar counts for Achilles in the *Iliad* and finds that there as well, Achilles' proper name is by far more frequent than his patronym (2007, 308 n. 7). Although Maciver is not convinced that, in the numbers Boyten produces, a clear emphasis on Neoptolemus' characterization as "like Achilles" is revealed (2012b, 182 n. 220), I believe that part of Boyten's observation is certainly meaningful, as I hope to illustrate with additional statistical data and my own interpretations. Thus, not only is Νεοπτόλεμος a notably infrequent name in the *Posthomerica*, the same hero is also called 'the son of Achilles' remarkably more often: 3.5 times to 1, when I limit my count to the word Ἀχιλλεύς, but even more frequently when labels for Achilles are taken into account.[126]

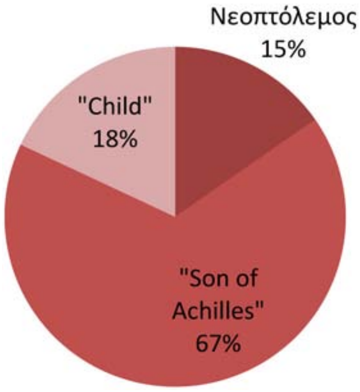

FIGURE 6
Neoptolemus is called …

In absolute numbers, I have counted 20 instances where Neoptolemus is called "child"[127] and 74 for "son[128] of Achilles (all descriptions)". When put

126 For 'Achilles', I have now searched for Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, but also for Πηλείων, Πηλείδης, Πηληϊάδης, Αἰακίδης and Ἀχιλήιος. The latter adjective is an unhomeric word and a Posthomeric *hapax*, used only once for Achilles' son (Q.S. 7.377), when Diomedes and Odysseus mentally prepare the boy for the war, during their passage on the ship.

127 Τέκος, τέκνον or παῖς. The former two only occur in character speech.

128 Τέκος, τέκνον, παῖς and υἱός. I did not include other family relations, such as υἱωνός, which is used a few times for Neoptolemus in relation to Thetis (Q.S. 8.25, 9.183 and 11.241).

together, 85 % of all occurrences uses an *antonomasia* referring to his (parental) lineage and/or his youth, rather than calling Neoptolemus by his own name. In 67 % of the cases, Achilles is explicitly mentioned. This makes the father a prominent figure even after his death and during the most important achievements of his son. In short, this graph suggests that *antonomasia* enhances the relation of Neoptolemus to his father, and stresses the former's Aeacidean descent. I use the idea of Neoptolemus as "kid", "Neo-ptolemos" and "Junior" (that is, Achilles Junior) to draw a few conclusions about Neoptolemus' characterization, such as we have encountered it thus far.[129]

4.3.1 *Kid*

Neoptolemus is a young hero. This is made explicit especially in the Scyrus scene, in the focalization of Deidamia and the others who behold him. One telling scene depicts the mother clinging to her boy's toys after his departure. Additionally, many of Neoptolemus' beloved ones, both at home and in Troy, call him "kid" straightforwardly.[130] In other respects as well, Neoptolemus is typified as a rather young hero. In section 4.2.1.1, I have discussed the young hero's rather naïve judgment of his mother's confrontation with the embassy, and Odysseus' deliberate choice to spare the boy the sight of his father's grave as his first impression of Troy. Moreover, Neoptolemus repeatedly gives proof of his impatience to start or continue battle. Both this eagerness and his tireless, fearless energy[131] could be interpreted as heroic qualities, as well as typical features of a young, impetuous boy.[132] Despite being useful on the battlefield, these emotions do not always seem the best answer to the situation. One situation in which Neoptolemus' young nature seems to get the best of his behaviour is during his confrontation with Eurypylus in Book 8. As discussed in section 4.2.2.2, this flyting speech (especially the first lines) could be deemed an

129 As mentioned above, these statistics are not exhaustive. I have chosen not to include any other references to Neoptolemus because they are often hard to detect or not exclusive. The latter is sometimes the case with warrior titles. Neoptolemus may, for example, be called ἄναξ alone at one moment, but be included in a(n unspecified) list of ἥρωες or ἀριστῆες the next. Therefore, despite the fact that he is sometimes given a proper warrior title (I have counted at least fourteen instances, alone or explicitly included in a group with others), these are not considered here.

130 E.g. footnotes 86 (about Deidamia and Lycomedes) and 94 (about Phoenix and Agamemnon).

131 References in footnote 107. For Neoptolemus' impatience on the eve before his duel, see section 4.2.1.2.

132 Maciver points out that his youth may be implied in the tertium comparationis of one simile, in which he kills Trojans as a young boy would swat flies (Q.S. 8.329–336: 2012b, 173–183; 174 for his observations about youth).

inappropriate reaction to Eurypylus' conventional question. Another instance when his impetuous lust for battle will cause him trouble is during the first assembly of Book 12, which is discussed in section 5.1.

Neoptolemus' rhetoric in general could be interpreted as a result of his youth. Neoptolemus has more speeches than any other character in the epic, but they are unusually brief: on average, they comprise 6.16 verses, and only three of his nineteen speeches are longer than 10 verses, the longest one 15.[133] This much-discussed characteristic of Neoptolemus defines him throughout the epic. Vian convincingly argues that Neoptolemus is a man of action, rather than of words (1966 T2, 104). Then again, so was Achilles, whose eight speeches in the *Posthomerica* had an average length of 15 lines. In total, Achilles even has three lines more of direct speech than Neoptolemus does, in less than half as many speeches. Moreover, it has been stated since the *Iliad*—and this is confirmed in the *Posthomerica*—that a hero should be both "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds", or be good in council and battle alike.[134] Neoptolemus, however, shows at least a few flaws in the former discipline.[135] An example could again be found in Neoptolemus' behaviour in the first assembly of Book 12.[136] Therefore, I am not inclined to interpret the brevity of his speeches

133 The average length of a speech in the *Posthomerica* is 11.87 lines. For a statistical overview of the use of direct speech in the *Posthomerica*, and Neoptolemus' high frequency of speech in particular, see Verhelst (2016, 30–31). Earlier calculations of Neoptolemus' speech had been made by Vian (1966 T2, 104 n. 1).

134 Achilles was sent to Troy with these clear instructions (Phoenix, *Iliad* 9.442–443), which clearly present battle and counsel as two separate qualities in which to excel. Counsel refers to the words a hero speaks, particularly in the assembly or council of chiefs. Words are a means for a hero to manifest himself and establish his status in relation to others (Martin 1989, 96–97). More on the position of εὐβουλία in the heroic code of the *Iliad* by Schofield (1986; see also Horn 2014, 60–62). Achilles' own ability to speak is a topic of interst. Although he is supposed to master both words and deeds, several passages in the *Iliad* point out that he is a hero of strength, rather than word or counsel (e.g. his self-evaluation in *Iliad* 18.106; see Friedrich & Redfield 1978, 270 for more passages). On the other hand, Achilles' speech is deemed exceptional, at least by its (modern) audience (more on this paradox by Friedrich & Redfield 1978, 271; preceded by Parry 1956). Martin's extensive study on "the Language of Achilles" concludes that Achilles is a formulaic artist (1989, 197–205) whose use of language is most like that of the composer in the *Iliad* (ibid. 220–230). Also, Claus investigates how Achilles' speech differs from formulaic conventions and links this to his heroic ideal (1975). In Quintus, heroic eloquence is most explicitly broached in Odysseus' victory in *Posthomerica* 5, but also recommended to Neoptolemus by the epiphany of his father in Q.S. 14.189–191 (see section 7.2.1).

135 Against Boyten, who indeed finds that Neoptolemus possesses both skills, much like his father in the *Iliad* (2007, 309–310).

136 See footnote 141 and section 5.1.

as an indication of the hero's moderation, as Boyten does (2007, 310–312). In general, the boy's behaviour is seldom moderated, and sometimes plainly inappropriate, as a few of his very brief replies to other speeches illustrate: his curt reaction of only two lines to Phoenix' welcome, for example, fails to reply to any of the emotional observations the old man has made. Instead, it seems to silence him when he speaks of his high expectations of Neoptolemus' future deeds: "Old fellow, the judges of my prowess in battle will be almighty Fate and the powerful god of war" (Q.S. 7.668–669). Although the same words could also be read as submission to Fate—which, according to Vian, marks him as an ideal hero (1966 T2, 103–104)—this is a remarkably cold and brief response given the circumstances.

4.3.2 *Neo-ptolemos*

Linked to his youth is also a certain inexperience in battle, at least when he first appears in the epic. For example, he is still training when the embassy reaches him, and his spears are among the toys on his mother's palace floor. The boy's undeniable and direct fighting talent does not obviate the fact that he comes to the battlefield green. The use of his first name may imply this again. First, it should be noted that only the narrator ever calls Neoptolemus by his name in Quintus; this name is always 'Neoptolemus', rather than 'Pyrrhus', although both names are used in both Latin and Greek.[137] This is in line with the earli-

137 Some texts use them both: Apollodorus is an example (most explicitly in *The Library* 3.8: γίνεται παῖς Πύρρος αὐτῷ ὁ κληθεὶς Νεοπτόλεμος αὖθις or "a son Pyrrhus was born to him, who was afterwards called Neoptolemus"). A scholion to *Iliad* 19.326 gives the same information: πρότερον δὲ ταῖς παρθένοις συνδιατρίβων ἔφθειρε Δηϊδάμειαν τὴν Λυκομήδους, ἥτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε Πύρρον τὸν ὕστερον Νεοπτόλεμον κληθέντα· ("But before that, while he was living with the girls, he had seduced Lycomedes' daughter Deidamia, and by him she gave birth to Pyrrhus, who was later named Neoptolemus"). Pausanias explains: τὰ δὲ Κύπρια ἔπη φησὶν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους μὲν Πύρρον, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ ὄνομα ὑπὸ Φοίνικος αὐτῶι τεθῆναι, ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡλικίαι ἔτι νέος πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο ("The epic poem, however, called Cypria says that Lycomedes named him Pyrrhus, but Phoenix gave him the name of Neoptolemus because Achilles was but young when he first went to war", *Description of Greece* 10.26.4). Philostratus has a similar view: γίνεται αὐτοῖς Νεοπτόλεμος, ὀνομασθεὶς τοῦτο διὰ νεότητα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καθ' ἣν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὥρμησεν ("they had a son Neoptolemus, so named because of Achilles' youthful enthusiasm for warfare", *Heroicus* 46.4). Latin authors using both names obviously include Vergil and Ovid. 'Neoptolemus', for example, is attested in Vergil's *Aeneid* 2.263, 500, 549, 3.333, 469 and 11.264, whereas 'Pyrrhus' occurs in *Aeneid* 2.469, 491, 526, 547, 662, 3.296 and 319. In Ovid's *Heroides*, Briseis uses 'Pyrrhus' (to Achilles, letter III line 136), but Hermione (to Orestes, letter VIII) both 'Pyrrhus' (lines 3, 8, 36, 42 and 103) and 'Neoptolemus' (lines 82 and 115). In *Metamorphoses* 13, 'Pyrrhus' occurs in Odysseus' speech (line 155) and 'Neoptolemus' during the passage describing Polyxena's sacrifice (line 455).

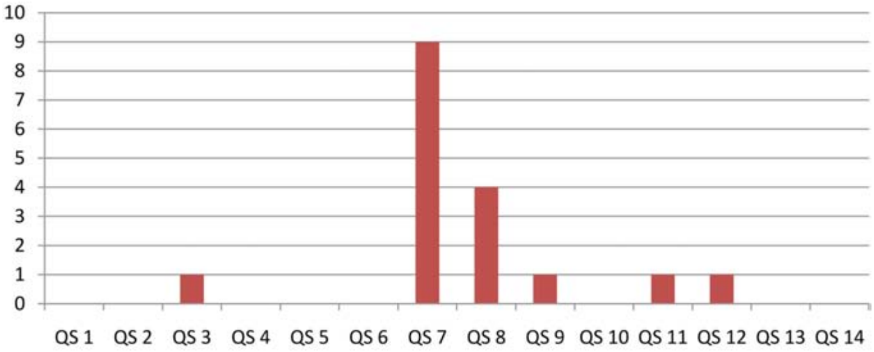

FIGURE 7 Νεοπτόλεμος in the *Posthomerica*

est traditions, most importantly Homer (Vian 1966 T2, 103 n. 3), but could also draw attention to the literal significance of Νεοπτόλεμος.[138] The few instances of his first name in the epic are quite unevenly spread. After a first occurrence of the name in the anticipation of the horses in Q.S. 3.760, we find the second mention of Νεοπτόλεμος only at the end of the embassy (Q.S. 7.405). From then on, it occurs no less than nine times in the rest of Book 7, during Neoptolemus' first battle (six times) and his formal welcome (twice).[139] If the four instances in Book 8, all before or shortly after Eurypylus' death,[140] are added to that, more than three quarters of all the name's occurrences are situated in Neoptolemus' most important battle episode. Even if these are indeed the two books in which he figures most prominently, this frequency remains disproportionately high (compare to the overview of Neoptolemus' occurrences throughout the *Posthomerica*, in Figure 4). Repeating his name may help to highlight the importance of the event, but an etymological interpretation is also possible. As discussed above, the first occurrence of Νεοπτόλεμος in Book 7 is found at the exact moment when Troy comes into view,

138 In this, I agree with Kneebone (2007, 289 n. 15).

139 Q.S. 7.433–434 (Neoptolemus is the only one left fearless after Diomedes' exhortation), 462 (the oppressed Achaeans rejoice in seeing Neoptolemus' βίη as stranded men welcoming a favourable wind), 484 (Neoptolemus charges, together with Odysseus, Diomedes and Leonteus), 524 (in the second foreshadowing, he is named the doom of Eurypylus), 534 (the Trojans cower away from the projectiles of μέγαν βασιλῆα Νεοπτόλεμον), 615 (he kills two sons of Meges at the end of the fighting day), 640 (Neoptolemus is welcomed as a long lost son by Phoenix) and 684 (the Achaeans bestow many gifts upon him).

140 Q.S. 8.40 (the Achaeans around Neoptolemus attack like wasps), 165 (his shield stays the first attack of Eurypylus), 233 (immediately after Eurypylus' death, the Achaeans kill masses under his lead) and 291 (some of his victims are listed).

when Odysseus decided to save the young hero the shock of seeing his father's grave (Q.S. 7.405). This may suggest that the boy is not ready for such an event, especially not as his first impression of Troy. As discussed in section 4.2.2.2, he seems better able to visit his father's grave after his victory over Eurypylus, when he is already strongly established as the Achaean champion. From this point of view, the abundance of occurrences of his name in Book 7 and 8 could also simply emphasise that Neoptolemus is at that point quite literally new to war.[141] A clear awareness of the meaning of his proper name appears in Triphiodorus, who uses Νεοπτόλεμος three times, spread over two of the three brief passages in which he plays a role (lines 153, 157 and 634). Only in the first passage is the son of Achilles not called by his own name. After a brief mention of his parents and vigour, the narrator concludes this first description of the young hero with the words νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής ("although he was a young warrior", line 54b), a clear pun to his name.[142] That Quintus too is aware of the literal meaning of Neoptolemus' name becomes clear in the countless allusions to—sometimes even straightforward puns about—the young hero's name in other adjectives derived from πόλεμος throughout the epic. One of the clearest puns is no doubt the Posthomeric *hapax* ἀπτόλεμος,[143] only found at the end of Neoptolemus' own exhortation speech: "I would rather die than be called unfit for war (ἀπτόλεμος)" (Q.S. 9.283; Verhelst 2016, 159 n. 37). Other derivatives

141 In this, I disagree with Boyten, who states that "in defiance of his name", Neoptolemus immediately behaves like a seasoned warrior in his first battle (2010, 218 and n. 840). Kneebone interprets the literal meaning of Neoptolemus' name as an indication of the new heroic ideal that he could represent in the *Posthomerica* (2007, 289). There is, however, a crucial occurrence of the name—one of the only three after Book 8 and the very last one in the epic—that might (also) suggest otherwise: in Book 12, Neoptolemus is called by his own name at the exact moment when he physically revolts against the ruse of the Trojan Horse, and prepares to raise his army against the will of the assembly (Q.S. 12.85). This is immediately punished by Zeus' thunderbolts and is, hence, apparently not Neoptolemus' best idea ever. His stubborn restriction to physical force as a battle tactic is an Achillean feature that the young hero defends, rather impetuously in this case. Therefore, I am inclined to interpret this passage as one more possible indication of his youth: his attempt to overrule the assembly by violence is a sign that he is indeed still inexperienced in the principles and conventions of warfare (see also section 5.1).

142 Miguélez-Cavero calls the technique behind this pun a 'narrativised etymology' and explicitly concludes that "Triph. characterises Neoptolemus as a young warrior" (2013, 155). For further discussion on Triphiodorus' Neoptolemus, see also the excursus to section 5.2 and section 6.2.2.

143 There are three Homeric occurrences of this adjective: two in Diomedes' encouragement in *Iliad* 9 (twice ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἄναλκις: *Iliad* 9.35 and 41) and one as Odysseus is chasing back the army to the assembly after Agamemnon's deception (*Iliad* 2.201).

found in the *Posthomerica*, not always but sometimes used in contexts relevant to Neoptolemus, are φιλοπτόλεμος,[144] εὐπτόλεμος[145] and μενεπτόλεμος.[146]

Finally, no-one in the epic uses the name Νεοπτόλεμος but the narrator himself; it never occurs in character speech, and even when Neoptolemus introduces himself to Eurypylus in Book 8, he does not mention his own name (see section 4.2.2.2).[147] To his most important opponent, the young hero summarizes his identity as follows: "I am his son, these are his weapons" (Q.S. 8.147–161). This is one more indication that Neoptolemus strongly relates his own heroic identity to that of his father.

4.3.3 *Junior*

The striking percentage of instances in which Neoptolemus is called "the son of Achilles" is only one of the aspects that support a strong assimilation with his father. Other narrative elements enhance this characterization, including explicit comparisons to Achilles (both in narrator text and character speech),[148]

144 Φιλοπτόλεμος is one of the more frequent derivative adjectives of πόλεμος, with ten occurrences in Homer (always in the plural form for a larger army section in the *Iliad*), two in Apollonius (applied to the Amazons) and ten in Quintus (six times for individual warriors; three times Achilles, but with clear reference to Neoptolmeus: Q.S. 6.79, 7.245 and 8.256).

145 This word has only 23 occurrences in Greek literature (according to TLG), none in Homer or Apollonius, but twenty in the *Posthomerica*. Of those, twelve cases are plural. Only two individuals are called εὐπτόλεμος: Odysseus (twice in significant contexts: as he wins the armour in Q.S. 5.320 and as he is praised by Calchas for his ruse in Q.S. 12.52; see also Chapter 5) and Achilles (always after his death and four times in "the son of": Q.S. 3.552, 7.183, 7.576, 8.76, 8.491 and 13.226: the four latter times are found in a description for Neoptolemus as "the son of"). See also Campbell (1981, 13–14) and Boyten (2010, 212).

146 This adjective is used, in both Homer and Quintus (ten and twenty occurrences respectively), as a regular epithet for several individual warriors and sometimes groups (nine out of ten Homeric occurrences for individuals, never Achilles; fourteen out of twenty for Quintus). In the *Posthomerica*, the adjective is linked to Achilles (four times, always in phrases like "the son of Achilles": Q.S. 7.325, 583, 8.285 and 11.433) and Odysseus (twice, as part of an assembly with Diomedes: Q.S. 6.64 and 9.335; in the *Iliad*, however, it was Diomedes who was called μενεπτόλεμος next to Odysseus: *Iliad* 19.48).

147 It should be noted that in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, the name Νεοπτόλεμος occurs only twice, but both instances have a clear introductory function: in line 4, Odysseus addresses Neoptolemus as "Ἀχιλλέως παῖ Νεοπτόλεμε" when both characters first appear, and—more interestingly—Neoptolemus introduces himself to Philoctetes as "αὐδῶμαι δὲ παῖς | Ἀχιλλέως, Νεοπτόλεμος" ("I am called the son of Achilles, Neoptolemus") in line 240–241. Further, it is of course hard to compare tragedy to epic in this respect, given the lack of narrator text in the former genre.

148 On a deeper, more implicit level, Achilles thoroughly resonates in the representation of Neoptolemus. This has been investigated by Maciver, in the final section of his 2012b book (171–191). See ibid. 191 for concluding observations about how the intra- and intertextuality

ample emotional recognition scenes on and beyond the battlefield, the prominent place of the armour in the boy's warrior achievements and his own resolution to follow in his father's footsteps.[149] Recognition dominates every appearance of and every encounter with Neoptolemus, with one remarkable exception in Eurypylus' enquiry before the duel (see again section 4.2.2.2). Moreover, Neoptolemus not only adopts Achilles' warrior identity, but also hallows the same heroic convictions. The young hero literally wants to act "worthily of the Aeacids" (Q.S. 7.291). The code he explicitly hails on the battlefield, exhorting bravery and scorning cowardice,[150] fits well into this scheme. All of this certainly justifies the conclusion that Neoptolemus is a second Achilles, a fitting replacement for his father and in no way inferior to him.[151] However, it has also widely been assumed that Neoptolemus is more than 'just' a copy of Achilles. Several scholars have marked him as the ideal hero of the *Posthomerica*, praising his moderate behaviour and temperance. Vian (1966 T2, 103–104), agreeing with Ferrari (1963, 43–45), enumerates "sa beauté physique, sa force invincible, son ardeur juvénile, son courage, sa piété filiale tant à l'égard de sa mère que de son père (…) Mais, plus que par ses qualités, somme toute, conventionelles, il se distingue par sa modestie et sa soumission au destin". Calero Secall's 1998b study focuses on a duality in Neoptolemus' characterization, which would on the one hand be in line with the ancient heroic (and Achilleic) agonistic culture, and on the other hand influenced by modern Stoic influences. Toledano Vargas builds upon this idea to argue that Neoptolemus distances himself from the ancient heroic code in order to assume a more Stoic attitude to life, and concludes that in some instances, he is even superior to his father (2002, 39–42; see also Vian 1963 T1, xxvi, and most recently Langella 2016). Boyten follows the same interpretation of superiority over Achilles, and makes an extensive study of how the son is not only able to replace his father, but also surpasses him, on

in two similes for Neoptolemus in Book 8 enhance the feeling that, in the duel between Neoptolemus and Eurypylus, an Achilles figure and a Hector figure meet again.

149 Neoptolemus makes this explicit in Q.S. 7.290–291, 701–704 and 9.50–60. Further references to his father's inheritance on the battlefield include 8.21–22, 149–161 and 214–216. I only take into account direct speech, here.

150 "Rather to die bravely than to be dishonoured by cowardice ore flight" is the device he expresses in Q.S. 9.275–283, 11.217–220 and 12.301–302. Furthermore, he defends brave behaviour in battle and scorns a lack of courage in Q.S. 7.668–669, 8.15–20, 8.147–148, 9.248–252, 261–263, 12.67–72 and 279. The latter speeches specifically serve as a reaction against ruse (see Chapter 5). See also Calero Secall (1998b, 102–103).

151 This is Maciver's conclusion after the thorough analysis of two similes for Neoptolemus in Book 8 (see footnote 148; further references are provided in my sections 4.1.2.2 and 4.2.2.2): "Quintus strives to make Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, Achilles" (2012b, 191).

a purely heroic level (2010, 227–237). For several reasons, I am not inclined to follow this line of interpretation.

First and foremost, and as argued above, I do not interpret Neoptolemus as a moderate hero, displaying restraint and moderation in his conversations and actions. Certainly, some of his speeches may give such an impression. When read in the broader context of Neoptolemus' speech patterns, however, at least some of these examples can also be explained as efforts to break off a longer conversation and bring the situation back to its essence: battle (e.g. his postponing of the marriage offer and his curt reply to Phoenix). Moreover, his most cautious words are found in his earliest speeches, before he has killed Eurypylus. The more experienced Neoptolemus gets, the bolder he seems to become, until he eventually revolts against the assembly of Book 12 and is nearly struck down by Zeus (Q.S. 12.84–100). In fact, Neoptolemus clashes with the gods more than once. In Book 8, Neoptolemus nearly confronts Ares himself (Q.S. 8.239–343) and makes Ganymede fear that Troy will fall that day, until Zeus stops the fight with a dense fog (8.427–479). In the next book, Apollo saves Deiphobus and, at a climax, intends to kill Neoptolemus in his fury (9.304–323).[152] That the young hero is able to provoke such divine intervention establishes another link with the extreme vigour of his dead father, in a less flattering way. Another argument often quoted in relation to his supposed moderation is that the representation of Neoptolemus' traditionally cruel deeds during and after the Sack are described rather mildly in the *Posthomerica*.[153] However, it would perhaps be safer to flip the argument, and look at it starting from the unique position of the *Posthomerica* in this tradition. It should be kept in mind that Quintus' epic is one of the few literary works transmitted to us to discuss the entire succession of Neoptolemus' deeds in the Trojan War in considerable detail. With this thoroughness, Quintus goes even further than Sophocles, whose *Philoctetes* is one of the few other works to address the psychological development of Neoptolemus' character.[154] It poses the considerable challenge of drawing a coherent line of characterization through a series of Neoptolemus' actions, which have otherwise only seldom been considered in the same narrative: Quintus must match the warrior excellence of the young hero, as described in the *Odyssey*,

152 For further discussion, see Toledano Vargas (2002, 33–35).

153 Boyten, in the first section of his chapter on Neoptolemus, makes the most extensive study of this. He stresses that the Priam scene is decisively less cruel than its Vergilian counterpart (more about this in section 6.2), that Quintus' Astyanax is not (explicitly) killed by Neoptolemus and that the display of Polyxena's sacrifice, despite a bit of remaining cruelty, is also a milder version of the incident (2010, 189–205). Others have voiced similar observations. See also Calero Secall (1998b, 106) and Toledano Vargas (2002, 39).

154 Toledano Vargas (2002, 19). This tragedy is considered in more detail in section 5.1.

to his more cruel deeds, which have throughout the tradition been transmitted on a larger scale, and with growing revulsion. The Posthomeric murders of Priam and Polyxena still contain horrific elements, which, however, must fit into the larger picture of Neoptolemus' characterization in the *Posthomerica*. How exactly this happens is more thoroughly discussed in sections 6.2.2 and 7.2. In any case, the picture that the epic has thus far established of Neoptolemus, as a warrior on the battlefield, has provided him with a clear heroic background and conviction that enable him to engage with the challenges he will face in preparation for, during and immediately after the Sack of Troy.

Key to this picture is the spirit of Achilles. As becomes clear from the moment he leaves Scyrus, the son apparently honours his father as an incarnation of the heroic model he strives to follow. Here, Neoptolemus' youth and the idea of heroic succession become crucial. Rather than becoming an exact copy of his father, Neoptolemus has to find his own place in the Achaean army, as the son and heir of this grand hero. The striking resemblance to his father is, in my opinion, exactly an indication that this assimilation should not be taken for granted. Neoptolemus explicitly determines his own position as a hero, as closely as possible to that of his father, and this perception is amply confirmed and reinforced by the way in which he is perceived by his fellow characters. In the *Posthomerica*, Neoptolemus does not become Achilles; he lives up to him. This marks an important difference between the heroes, and their essential connection as inspiring father and inspired son. In turn, Neoptolemus' own war deeds add to the greater glory of Achilles. With the help of the son, the *Posthomerica* makes sure that the father is never forgotten. Neoptolemus consistently acts to the memory of Achilles, worshipping his inheritance and increasing the latter's honour by walking in his footsteps, wearing his armour and wielding his spear. It seems to become Neoptolemus' task to keep Achilles' spirit alive until the end of the war. This brings me to a second, more general objection to the idea of Neoptolemus as a potentially 'ideal' hero in the *Posthomerica*: I do not believe that the *Posthomerica* thus far has put forward an 'ideal' code of behaviour for heroes. When specifically focusing on ideas about heroism and action in war, the epic seems to provide ample opportunity to reflect on and discuss heroic convictions, and will do so even more in the following books. In the strongest example yet to come, the assemblies in Book 12, Neoptolemus will clearly participate in the discussion from one specific perspective, which at that point will also explicitly be linked to his father, Achilles (Chapter 5). However, neither this point of view nor the hero defending it are without flaws. In this respect, and in contrast to what my specific focus in Chapter 4 thus far has suggested, Neoptolemus remains one hero of the many in a broader picture.

4.4 Towards the Sack … Rival Killed; What's Next?

After Neoptolemus' victory over Eurypylus, the focus of the narrative gradually shifts towards the Sack of Troy. In the final section of Chapter 4, I briefly touch upon a few new tendencies and evolutions that become apparent in the narrative during the final battles around Troy. These observations form a prelude to the situation in Books 12, 13 and 14, which are discussed in Part 2.

4.4.1 *Not the Saviour after All?*

At the moment of Eurypylus' death, we are barely further than halfway through the epic, the war is all but over, and Neoptolemus is alive to continue fighting. A necessary question announces itself: what is next? Vian (1966 T2, 137; followed by Polizzano in Lelli ed. 2013, 781) has judged the further development of Book 8 rather slow and incoherent. Indeed, it could be deemed an anti-climax that after the death of Eurypylus, the day's battle simply carries on, with no clear target to aim at next. However, the rest of Book 8 and Book 9 cleverly reorient the ongoing battle to continue the story. Simultaneously, Neoptolemus' future role is reconsidered.

By rights, the Trojans should have yielded to Neoptolemus' immense power as soon as he jumped up from Eurypylus' body, and withdrawn within the city walls "like calves in flight from a lion or swine from a storm" (Q.S. 8.238). This brief comparison suggests that the situation of the Trojans at that point is indeed as precarious as at the beginning of Book 1, when they cowered behind their walls like cows in fear of a lion (back then still Achilles, Q.S. 1.5–8). Neoptolemus clearly has the same effect on them as his father before him. Only now, something quite unusual for the *Posthomerica* happens: a god, in this case Ares, actively—and successfully—intervenes[155] and makes the Trojans stand their ground. Another long battle scene follows, involving several players and much bloodshed, until the Trojans are finally chased back to the city (Q.S. 8.369 ff.) and Zeus sheds a fog over the battlefield to prevent the Achaeans from taking Troy (Q.S. 8.428 ff.). Hence, the gods twice prevent the Achaeans from finishing the job that day. This leaves Nestor to conclude: "It cannot yet be our fate to sack this famous city, even if the words of Calchas were correct, those he

155 The gods have not been major instigators of the plot thus far. For example, Ares himself was restrained after the death of his daughter (Q.S. 1.675–715) and Zeus explicitly forbade the gods to attempt to change destiny in Q.S. 2.167–172. As Gärtner summarizes: the Olympians mostly intervene according to Fate, which is a rather unhomeric tendency of the epic (2007, 212; 238–240). In Books 8 and 9, however, divine intervention steers the plot more than once. See also Bär (2016).

once addressed to all the assembled Achaeans, that in the tenth year we would destroy the city of Priam" (Nestor: Q.S. 8.474–477). Nestor thus calls to mind Calchas' prophecy in Q.S. 6.59–67, where the priest had repeated that Troy would be sacked in the tenth year, and had proposed the embassy to Neoptolemus as the next step (see also Schmitz 2007, 79). However, the arrival of the young hero seems not to have been the final piece of the puzzle.[156] Hence, uncertainty about the future again reigns at the end of Book 8. Despite their victory, and in contrast to the end of Book 7, the Achaeans go to bed with an uneasy feeling (Q.S. 8.498–504). The son of Achilles is (again) honoured like his father, (again) dined by Agamemnon, and (still) feels no weariness (Q.S. 8.491–495), but has not been able to sack Troy. This puts the hero in his place among the other Argives: he may be a big champion, but he is not the (sole) key to victory.

4.4.2 *A Sidekick Arrives*

According to Vian, Neoptolemus' *aristeia* is slowed down by the gods to allow Philoctetes to come to Troy in Book 9 (1966 T2, 138–139). However, even if Calchas indeed realizes that Philoctetes is also necessary for victory (Q.S. 9.325–331), this does not imply that Neoptolemus is dismissed.[157] Instead of replacing him, Philoctetes has to stand next to Neoptolemus during the Sack.[158] Although it gradually becomes clear that both heroes share the necessary heroic views to stand together in this new situation, they initially seem to be contrasted. Philoctetes' arrival turns out to be the exact opposite of Neoptolemus'. The second embassy, again led by Odysseus and Diomedes, proceeds more quickly and is completely rendered in indirect speech (Q.S. 9.327–443; 405–425 for the 'conversations' on the island). On Lemnus, the messengers are struck by wonder rather than joy at the first sight of the hero they came here to look for (compare θάμβος, Q.S. 9.355 to γήθησαν for Neoptolemus in Q.S. 7.173). The detailed description of Philoctetes' dreadful condition is, among others, illustrated by two curious similes that seem to suggest the corrupted heroic nature of Philoctetes at that point: a wild animal has gnawed off its own paw to escape

156 In spite of Menelaus' implicit (Q.S. 6.87–88) and Agamemnon's explicit (Q.S. 7.692–695) hopes.

157 The reversal of the arrivals of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes (Vian 1966 T2, 47 and Maciver 2012b, 20–21; see also section 1.3.2) need not necessarily imply an increased importance of the last hero who arrives (e.g. Toledano Vargas 2002, 35–36).

158 Moreover, after Paris' death, it will turn out that not even Philoctetes' arrival was enough to win the war, and the duo of Odysseus and Diomedes is sent on a third mission, to steal the *Palladium* (this episode is only indirectly anticipated by Hera in Q.S. 10.350–357).

a trap (Q.S. 9.365–370), and a rock erodes in the constant beating of the waves (Q.S. 9.378–385), though wild animals and steadfast rocks more often illustrate heroes in full vigour.[159] Finally, Neoptolemus' flying start on his arrival at Troy is sharply contrasted to Philoctetes' painfully stumbling ashore, supported on either side by one of the messengers (Q.S. 9.447–459). Hence, the initial contrast between both new Achaean heroes could not be bigger.[160] Even when the newest hero is healed and rouses the army into a new fight,[161] and even when he becomes the leading Achaean champion for that day,[162] his major achievement falls into another category than that of Neoptolemus. Not only does Philoctetes engage in a duel of bow and arrow rather than spears (Q.S. 10.206 ff.), with Paris he also kills a—by that time badly devalued—cause of war, rather than a valued hero.[163] Hence, Philoctetes seems to be an added value to the war, not so much replacing Neoptolemus as taking his place beside him, being represented from the beginning as a hero with a different focus but similar goals, which will

159 Compare, for example, Eurypylus and Neoptolemus as θῆρες during their duel (Q.S. 8.175–181) and Neoptolemus as a rock against a storm in the same situation (Q.S. 8.167–170). Both of Philoctetes' images may well be original reworkings of these more current heroic themes (Vian 1966 T2, 195 n. 2 and James 2004, 317). For further discussion on the medial significance of these similes for Philoctetes' condition, and the interaction between epic conventions and scientific precision in its description, see Ozbek (2007, 168–170).

160 This is only a superficial presentation of the Philoctetes episode in Book 9. A more detailed study should be forthcoming in Ozbek's commentary.

161 The new dawn comes at the end of Book 9, rather than, as is usual, at the beginning of the next. This creates a narrative suspense that can easily match the overarching structure of Books 6 to 8. The tense expectations about the new fight are even increased by an extensive description of personified Eris and her companions at the beginning of Book 10 (Q.S. 10.53–73).

162 His brief and fierce exhortation at the end of Book 9 is not unlike Neoptolemus' (Q.S. 9.537–539).

163 The disdainful view of Paris is expressed repeatedly in Book 10: e.g. Philoctetes' flyte (Q.S. 10.229–230), Oenone's scorn (Q.S. 10.322–323), and the laments of Helen (Q.S. 10.392), the other women (Q.S. 10.408–410) and nymphs (Q.S. 10.471–476: blaming Paris for Oenone's death). Paris seems to have lived through a downward spiral in his Posthomeric actions. His prime motivation to keep fighting, as was stated in Book 2, was not to lose Helen. Although he temporarily took lead of the army after Achilles' death in Book 3, this episode ended badly for him. In the next few books and especially after Eurypylus' death, the prince does not become the most prominent fighter. On the contrary, after Eurypylus' death, Deiphobus (Book 9) and Aeneas (Books 10 and 11) successively take lead of the army. Paris' last remarkable 'achievement' is then to lose the archery duel and be shot by Philoctetes, to die in general disgrace in Book 10. Instead of being commemorated as a valiant hero, he is repeatedly blamed for the war. Paris' guilt in the Trojan War is more thoroughly discussed in section 6.3.2.

be needed in the final episodes of the war. As such, they both fight in a similarly valiant way in the last siege of the walls (Book 11),[164] and are of the same opinion in the assembly of Book 12 (see Chapter 5).

4.4.3 *Through Trojan Eyes ...*

Simultaneously in these books, focus shifts back to the essence of the Trojan War. This becomes clear as Paris is recurrently scorned for being the cause of this war—and thus not mourned so much as rebuked after his death—in Book 10;[165] but also earlier, at the beginning of Book 9, when the Trojans are still fully distressed about facing Neoptolemus alone. For the first time since the beginning of the *Posthomerica*, they have lost courage so badly that they refuse to go to battle (Q.S. 9.6–7a). Totally at a loss because of this new enemy, Antenor prays that Troy may fall immediately, to end their suffering (Q.S. 9.20–22). Eventually, Deiphobus succeeds in motivating them once more by making explicit what they are fighting for—not for Paris or Helen,[166] but for their families and home:

> "(...) οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
> ζωὸς ἔθ' ἡμῖν ἄντα μαχήσεται, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
> πῦρ ὀλοὸν κατέδαψε· πέλει δέ τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
> ὃς νῦν λαὸν ἄγειρεν. Ἔοικε δὲ μήτ' Ἀχιλῆα
> μήτέ τιν' ἄλλον Ἀχαιὸν ὑποτρομέειν περὶ πάτρης
> μαρναμένους."
>
> Deiphobus: Q.S. 9.97–102

> "(...) Achilles
> No longer lives to fight against us now that he
> Has been consumed by fire. It is some other Achaean
> Who now has rallied their army. It's shameful that either Achilles
> Or any other Achaean should terrify those who defend
> Their homeland."

164 With only three direct speeches—two by mortals—in Book 11, it is remarkable that these are accorded to both an exhortation of Neoptolemus (Q.S. 11.217–220) and a flyte of Philoctetes (Q.S. 11.491–495). The former forces the cowering Achaeans back into the ranks, and the latter challenges Aeneas to come down for a real fight, "by the use of spears and arrows" (ἔγχεσι καὶ βελέεσσιν, Q.S. 11.495).

165 See footnote 163.

166 In contrast to Paris' intentions in the assembly of Book 2.

What follows is a touching family scene full of doubtful emotions and terror, in which Trojan warriors are armed by their wives, little children and old fathers (Q.S. 9.113–124), who will also watch that day's fight from the walls (Q.S. 9.138–144).[167] In Book 11, this 'family moment' is mirrored in a brief description of the warriors—or what is left of them—coming home and being tended to by their relatives (Q.S. 11.316–328).[168] Whereas thus far, individual heroes had strived for honour and supremacy on the battlefield, focus now shifts back to the harsh reality of the Trojan War: a city full of innocent families faces destruction by the hand of conquerors.[169] The opposition of these two interests, Achaean glory and Trojan defence of their home, becomes more poignant in the final battles around the city. Book 11, lacking a central focus on one hero in particular, is essentially a battle book in which the real goal of the war indeed is to sack or protect Troy, now under direct threat of a *teichomachia*. This intention is clearly expressed in a few lines of indirect speech, rendering an exhortation of Aeneas to protect their homes, and of Neoptolemus' exhortation to keep fighting until the city is on fire (Q.S. 11.431–435). Aeneas echoes the same ideal at the beginning of Book 10: "It is surely better to die a glorious death defending our homeland than to wait for a miserable end" (Q.S. 10.43–44). Gradually, the sharp focus on individual heroes decreases. In Book 8, Neoptolemus turned out *not* to be the final key to taking Troy. From now on, he is embedded in the larger 'pool' of heroes who attempt to take Troy together—without, however, losing their individuality.

The last three books of the *Posthomerica* focus on (the preparation for) the Sack, and the coming three chapters of this study switch focus as well. After having discussed the main heroes in the plot and analysed the convictions they follow in battle, I now jump to the final three books of the *Posthomerica*, which bring to a conclusion what has been prepared in the first half of the epic. I no longer focus on individual heroes, but on how these heroes and their heroic beliefs engage in the larger frame of the preparation, the execution and the celebration of the Sack of Troy. The analysis of these books looks back on

167 Helen does not take part in this *teichoskopia*, because of her αἰδώς (unlike in *Iliad* 3). Perhaps there is a correlation with the previous speech of Deiphobus, stating that the war was about more than this romance alone. The focus on the anguish of the average Trojan at the beginning of Book 9 would seem an appropriate moment for Helen to feel αἰδώς about her part in this war. See also James (2004, 316).

168 Combellack finds this a remarkable scene in relation to Quintus' "somewhat un-Homeric interest in depicting the sufferings which the war brings to people in general, combatants and non-combatants alike" (1986, 16).

169 Combellack intriguingly suggests that "the doomed city of Troy" may well deemed the most central player (he calls it the "hero") of the epic (1986, 8).

the rest of the *Posthomerica*. Neoptolemus recurs in each of the three following chapters. His final accomplishments are considered from the point of view established in this chapter, but also show how he further evolves as a hero. After all, he is no longer the one central topic of the epic, though he remains one of the important heroes. However, he will have to work together and cooperate with the rest of the army to achieve the Sack of Troy.

PART 2

Heroism and the Sack of Troy

CHAPTER 5

Reconsidering Heroic Tactics

Kudos, my hero
Leaving all the best[1]

As observed at the end of Chapter 4, focus in the *Posthomerica* gradually shifts towards the Sack of Troy after Neoptolemus' first performances, especially after Philoctetes' arrival (Book 9) and Paris' death (Book 10). A final battle in Book 11, the closest thing to a 'battle book' in the epic, has as its most obvious goal to break through or defend the city walls, certainly from Q.S. 11.330 onwards, as the final *teichomachia* starts. Odysseus comes up with a clever turtle formation, which is, however, broken by a constant rain of stones and missiles, courtesy of Aeneas (Q.S. 11.358–414). This failed attempt to destroy the gates with axes is followed by Alcimedon's equally vain effort to climb the walls (Q.S. 11.447–473). At the end of the day, the city's enclosure has definitively proved to be impregnable by force. Although the fighting carries on for a while, with many heroes sharing the spotlight, the final half verse of the book fatalistically concludes: πόνος δ' ἄπρηκτος ὀρώρει (Q.S. 11.501). "All their work was useless". The conclusion to Book 11 marks the end of several years of open battle around Troy and creates an onset for Calchas to build upon as he opens the debate about the future in *Posthomerica* 12.[2] Even if Book 11 has never been the most popular book in Quintus research,[3] it has thus sown vital seeds to make the

1 "My Hero"—Foo Fighters.

2 Triphiodorus starts his epyllion with a similarly fatalistic onset: "And still all Ilios stood, by reason of her god-built towers, established upon unshaken foundations, and at the tedious delay the people of the Achaeans chafed. And now Athena, unwearying though she be, would have shrunk from her latest labour and all her sweat had been in vain (…)" (*Sack of Ilion* 40–44). In Triphiodorus, the turning point is caused by Helenus' prophecy (for the contrast between Helenus and Calchas in Triphiodorus, see Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 203). For my treatment of Triphiodorus in this and the next chapter, see the excursus to section 5.2, and section 5.3.2.

3 With its primary focus on battle, it is hard to grasp the central theme—if there is any other than just 'open battle'—of the book. Vian entitles it "les exploits d'Énée" (1969 T3, 37), James more generally "the Defense of Troy" (2004, 176). Gärtner considers it part of "die Eroberung

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transition to the ruse of the Trojan Horse acceptable. For example, in a book that is, according to Vian, largely inspired by Iliadic battles, the unhomeric tactic of the turtle formation may seem somewhat out of place.[4] However, the image of an Achaean construction, invented by Odysseus to covertly approach the Trojan walls and breach its invincible protection, may sound familiar in the light of what is to follow. Failing because it mainly relies on force and is averted by the same, the turtle formation is one more example of how normal battle does not work. The Trojan Horse will form a more successful counterpart, using ruse to successfully conquer the walls that the turtle formation could not break. Thus, it forms the perfect transition to Book 12 (Nastasi in Lelli ed. 2013, 833), at the beginning of which the Achaeans reach the same fatalistic conclusion, and decide to act:

> Ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ μάλα πολλὰ κάμον περὶ τείχεα Τροίης
> αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοί, πολέμου δ’ οὐ γίνετο τέκμωρ,
> δὴ τότ’ ἀριστήων ἄγυριν ποιήσατο Κάλχας
> Q.S. 12.1–3

> Despite their endless efforts round the walls of Troy
> The Danaan spearmen failed to achieve their goal in the war
> So then a meeting of the leaders was called by Calchas.

The opening verses of *Posthomerica* 12 immediately indicate what this book will be about. As has been feared throughout many failed attempts and made explicit in the final verses of the previous book, open battle will not sack Troy. More specifically, it will not achieve the πολέμου τέκμωρ. Τέκμωρ, always in the same expression combined with πολέμου, is found only four times in Quintus' epic, and only once before Book 12: Agamemnon complains that after Achilles' death, they will never achieve their goal ("οὐ γὰρ ὀίω | εὑρέμεναι πολέμοιο τέκμωρ

Troias", along with Books 12 and 13 (2010, XI). Maciver leaves it at "further fighting around Troy" (2012b, 20).

4 On the possibility of Latin sources of Book 11, and the turtle episode in particular, see Keydell (1954), Vian (1959, 52–55 and 1969 T3, 43–47), Gärtner (2005, 114–132) and James (2007, 151–152). Hadjittofi suggests that Quintus opens an active dialogue with the Vergilian version and tradition in general, which has clear implications on his characterization of Aeneas (2007, 360–361; on Aeneas also Ozbek forthcoming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*). This debate is summarized by Tomasso (2010, 138–144). As far as Greek parallels are concerned, Miguélez-Cavero relates Quintus' turtle formation to Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 22.180–186 and a 'possible' turtle formation in Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion* 622–623 (2013, 442–444). On the turtle formation, also Bärtschi's contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016.

φθιμένου Ἀχιλῆος", Q.S. 3.502–503). Indeed, no major progress has been made towards victory since, for not even the arrival of Neoptolemus, the return of Philoctetes and the theft of the *Palladium* turned out to be the final key to the city. *Posthomerica* 12 finally proposes a real solution. In two assemblies, a new plan is discussed, involving a change of tactics that will indeed accomplish the long desired πολέμοιο τέκμωρ (Q.S. 12.2, 224 and 258).

This chapter discusses the explicit reflection of the Achaeans on heroic convictions and the re-evaluation of their old tactics in the light of immanent success. As the final stage of the Trojan War is initiated, heroes express and defend their respective views on heroism and consider how these can or cannot be squared with what needs to be done to take Troy. Two assemblies form the stage of a lively debate among the most prominent Achaeans, where characters who have been shaped in the previous books clash while discussing their most elementary beliefs. I mainly focus on this first part of Book 12, situated in the Achaean camp (marked in bold in the overview), and less on the second half, where the Trojans find and accept the Horse. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 first consider the two assemblies separately. The final section of this chapter follows the foremost Achaean heroes when their change of tactics is put into practice (section 5.3).

THE ACHAEANS PREPARE THE RUSE
- 1–83: **first assembly** (new tactic)
  - 84–103: **Neoptolemus and Philoctetes 'convinced'**
  - 104–156: construction of the Horse
  - 157–218: theomachy
- 218–302: **second assembly** (choice of champions)
  - 303–335: **catalogue of heroes**
  - 336–352: **abandon camp**

THE TROJANS FIND AND ACCEPT THE HORSE
- 353–388: **Sinon**
- 389–498: Laocoon
- 499–524: bad omens
- 525–585: Cassandra

5.1 Change of Plan, Recipe for Disaster?

As has occurred twice before in the *Posthomerica*, the Achaeans make their next move on the advice of Calchas. He had referred to the famous prophecy about the Achaean victory to send for Neoptolemus (Q.S. 6.57–70) and the nar-

rator suspected some bird sign or reading of entrails as the source of his advice to bring back Philoctetes (Q.S. 9.325–332).[5] Now, Calchas opens the first assembly in which the Achaeans discuss their eventually successful plan to take Troy.[6] He refers to a new bird prophecy, in which a hawk ensnares a dove by lying in ambush (Q.S. 12.11–18), to explain a whole new kind of idea:

> “Μηκέτι πὰρ τείχεσσιν ἐφεζόμενοι πονέεσθε,
> ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ μῆτιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μητιάασθε
> ἢ δόλον ὅς νήεσσι καὶ ἡμῖν ἔσσετ' ὄνειαρ.
> (…)
> Τῶ νῦν μή τι βίῃ πειρώμεθα Τρώιον ἄστυ
> περσέμεν, ἀλλ' εἴ πού τι δόλος καὶ μῆτις ἀνύσσῃ.”
>
> Calchas: Q.S. 12.8–20

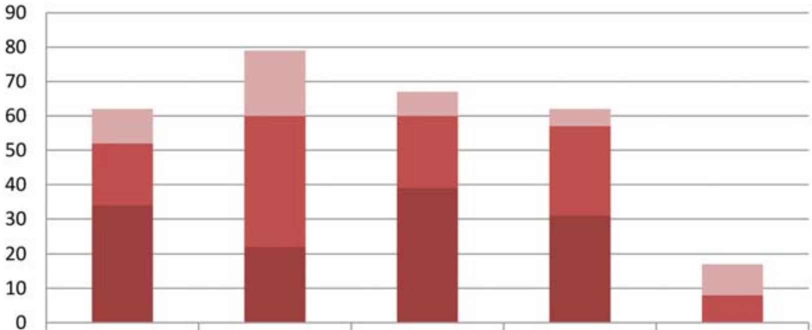
> “Waste no more labor on besieging the city,
> But rather try to devise some different device
> Or stratagem that can benefit us and our ships.
> (…)
> Let us therefore not try force to sack the city
> Of Troy, but see what a trick or stratagem can achieve.”

In his speech, Calchas lays emphasis on the words δόλος and μῆτις;[7] terms which, along with λόχος, deserve more detailed attention in this book. Μῆτις could be translated as: “I. wisdom, skill, craft II. counsel, plan, undertaking” (LSJ s.v. μῆτις). Horn describes it as “praktische Klugheit” (2014, 59) and Vian as “un plan stratégique qui n'est pas nécessairement une ruse” (1969 T3, 88 n. 2). Δόλος, on the other hand, should be understood as “any cunning contrivance for deceiving or catching” (LSJ s.v. δόλος). From Homer onward, the use of bodily force (a man-to-man fight on the battlefield) and of intellect or wit (and by extension ruse and ambush) have existed next to each other as strategies or tactics in war. Both approaches are, obviously, more or less apt

5 For the prominence of Calchas in the *Posthomerica*, see Campbell (1981, 1–3). In Triphiodorus, he shares his role as prophet with Helenus (e.g. *Sack of Ilion* 132–134; Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 203 and 221–222).

6 This assembly consists of five speeches: Calchas advises the Achaeans to use a ruse (Q.S. 12.8–20), upon which Odysseus proposes the ambush with the Trojan Horse (Q.S. 12.25–45). Calchas replies with strong approval (Q.S. 12.51–65), but Neoptolemus objects (Q.S. 12.67–72) and Odysseus again reacts against this objection (Q.S. 12.74–83).

7 With an additional pun to μῆτις in line 19, μή τι. For this passage, see also Cerri (2015, 141–142).



	Iliad	Odyssey	Argonautica	Posthomerica	Sack of Ilion
λόχος,…	10	19	7	5	9
δόλος,…	18	38	21	26	8
μῆτις,…	34	22	39	31	0

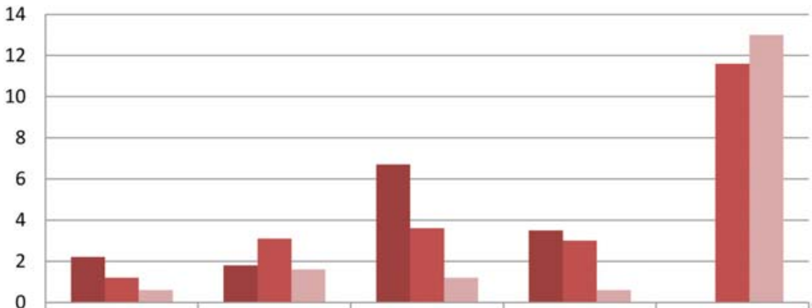
FIGURE 8 μῆτις, δόλος, λόχος and cognates, absolute numbers

depending on context, and similarly, their prominence and evaluation varies from epic to epic. In the graphs above, I consider these words in a broader scope than in Quintus alone, comparing Homer's use of these specific terms to Apollonius', Triphiodorus' and especially Quintus'. The following overview takes into account the nouns μῆτις, δόλος and λόχος, and several of their cognates.[8] The absolute numbers of occurrence of these thematic words already give an impression of the focus of each epic. However, they should be considered in the light of the entire length of the poems to calculate the frequency of each term. Figure 9 shows how many times each word (including cognates) occurs per 1000 verses in each poem.[9]

The connection between δόλος and μῆτις goes back as far as the Homeric epics. The *Odyssey* is obviously more focused on trickery than the *Iliad*—and on δόλος and λόχος specifically. Μῆτις, with its broader meaning, seems more relevant to the *Iliad*. All in all, however, wit and ruse as strategies are not strange even within the *Iliad*. Although the *Odyssey* is more focused on the use of Odysseus' intellect, he and Athena are strongly connected with μῆτις

8 Besides μῆτις, also μητιάω, μητίομαι, μητιόεις. Besides δόλος, also δολόεις, δολοφρονέων, δολοφροσύνη. Besides λόχος, also λοχάω.

9 In addition (and with the same data), I have calculated that in the *Iliad*, the word μῆτις (including cognates) occurs once every 462 verses, δόλος 1/872 and λόχος 1/1569; in the *Odyssey* the same words occur 1/550, 1/319 and 1/637, respectively; in the *Argonautica* 1/150, 1/278 and 1/834; in the *Posthomerica* 1/283, 1/337, 1/1754; in the *Sack of Troy* 0, 1/99 and 1/77.



	Iliad	Odyssey	Argonautica	Posthomerica	Sack of Ilion
μῆτις,...	2.2	1.8	6.7	3.5	0
δόλος,...	1.2	3.1	3.6	3	11.6
λόχος,...	0.6	1.6	1.2	0.6	13

FIGURE 9 μῆτις, δόλος, λόχος and cognates, x per 1000 verses

even in the *Iliad*.[10] Whereas the *Iliad* provides a less apt setting for the performance of ruses (δόλος) and ambush than the *Odyssey*,[11] a few instances of such practice—or reflections on it at least—can still be found in the former epic as well. Λόχος ('ambush'), for example, is mentioned a few times in the *Iliad*, where it is most closely associated with the need for strength in such a situation.[12] Furthermore, an ambush can both present an opportunity to show courage[13] and be perceived an act of cowardice.[14] In the *Odyssey*, which men-

10 E.g. Odysseus in *Iliad* 2.169, 407, 636 and 10.137. Athena in *Iliad* 10.497, *Odyssey* 6.14, 8.9, 13.303 and 386 (in cooperation with Odysseus). Other characters with(out) a plan include Penelope (*Odyssey* 19.158 and 326) and Laertes (*Odyssey* 4.739), but also Hector (*Iliad* 7.47 and 11.200).

11 Odysseus is unsurprisingly the most guileful hero, especially in the *Odyssey*: e.g. his self-characterization in 9.19, but also his qualifications or deeds in *Iliad* 3.202, 11.430, 23.725, *Odyssey* 3.122, 8.494, 9.422, 13.292, 293, 18.51, 19.212 and 21.274. Penelope's cunning plan is a δόλος (*Odyssey* 2.93, 106, 19.137, 24.128 and 141) as well.

12 Given the battlefield focus of the epic, this need not surprise anyone (see also Horn 2014, 98). Examples of forceful victories over λόχοι are found in *Iliad* 4.392 (Tydeus against the Cadmeans) and 6.189 (Bellerophon).

13 In *Iliad* 1, Achilles scorns Agamemnon for not bravely joining in either war or ambush: "Never have you dared to arm yourself for battle with your troops, or to go into an ambush (λόχον) with the chief men of the Achaeans" (Achilles: *Iliad* 1.226–227). Rather than being craven, moreover, taking part in an ambush can be a way to display courage: "For if now all the best of us were being chosen beside the ships for an ambush (πάντες ἄριστοι | ἐς λόχον), in which the valor of men is best discerned—there the coward comes to light and the man of valor" (Idomeneus: *Iliad* 13.276–278, see also 13.285).

14 Diomedes scorns Paris' cowardice for shooting an arrow to him from afar (11.385–395 in reaction to λόχος in line 379).

tions more specific examples of ambushes than the *Iliad*, this tactic can be appreciated both positively and negatively.[15] In general, the semantic field of μῆτις ('wit'), δόλος ('ruse') and λόχος ('ambush') is used so broadly in the Homeric epics that it is hard to draw general conclusions about an overall Homeric (or Iliadic/Odyssean) opinion or appreciation of the use of ruse or ambush.[16] In any case, the dichotomy between the use of strength and wit is less rigorous in Homer than it would become in some later traditions (see below). A rich example of the complementarity of force and wit (or ruse) in the *Iliad* can be found during Patroclus' funeral games. Most contests are won by physical strength, but Antilochus obtains victory in the chariot race thanks to his μῆτις (or δόλος, as the defeated Menelaus calls it later, in line 585).[17] Nestor offers an explicit reflection on the matter:

> "τῶν δ' ἵπποι μὲν ἔασιν ἀφάρτεροι, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτοὶ
> πλείονα ἴσασιν σέθεν αὐτοῦ μητίσασθαι.
> ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ σύ, φίλος, μῆτιν ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ
> παντοίην, ἵνα μή σε παρεκπροφύγῃσιν ἄεθλα
> μήτι τοι δρυτόμος μέγ' ἀμείνων ἠὲ βίηφι·
> μήτι δ' αὖτε κυβερνήτης ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
> νῆα θοὴν ἰθύνει ἐρεχθομένην ἀνέμοισι·
> μήτι δ' ἡνίοχος περιγίγνεται ἡνιόχοιο."
>
> Nestor: *Iliad* 23.311–318

> "The horses of the others are swifter, but the men know not how to devise more cunning counsel than you do. So come, dear son, lay up in your mind cunning of every sort, so that the prizes do not slip away past your grasp. By cunning, you know, is a woodman far better than by might; by cunning too does a helmsman on the wine-dark deep guide rightly a swift ship that is buffeted by winds; and by cunning does charioteer prove better than charioteer."

---

15 E.g. compare the ambush of the Trojan Horse (λόχος in *Odyssey* 4.277, 8.515, 11.525 and 14.469) to Agamemnon's assassination (4.531). Remarkably, ambushes are more often referred to by characters than actually performed, even in the *Odyssey*. The only 'real-life' ambush in the *Odyssey* is the attempt of the suitors to catch Telemachus on his way back home (4.670, 847, 13.425, 14.181, 15.28, 16.369, 463 and 22.53).

16 Horn, on the contrary, interprets μῆτις as a positive concept in the *Iliad* (see e.g. 23.311–318, discussed below: 2014, 59–60), δόλος as a negative one (ibid. 98 n. 451). In the *Odyssey*, the significance of μῆτις would be more similar to that of δόλος (ibid. 250; see also 263 n. 1148 and 266 n. 1163). The Iliadic battlefield is, obviously, a less favourable setting for ambushes (ibid. 96–98) than the *Odyssey* (ibid. 264).

17 Odysseus also uses δόλος to throw down Ajax during the wrestling contest (*Iliad* 23.725).

This passage essentially posits strength and intellect as two compatible skills, which can both be practiced by the same hero.[18] Here, Odysseus could be mentioned as an example *par excellence*. Although famous for his wit, rhetoric and ruses, he is unmistakably a hero of force as well, and not only in the *Iliad*: there is no obvious distinction between the Iliadic and the Odyssean Odysseus (Horn 2014, 263 n. 1147). The same hero has to change tactics and focus more on wit and ruse during his adventures in the quite un-Iliadic context of the *Odyssey*. For example, Horn convincingly analyses Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops as "eine Aristie der μῆτις des Odysseus". Since he is no match for the force of Polyphemus, he has to rely on his wit instead. This passage is symbolic for the loss of Odysseus' identity (literally his name) and fame in a fairy-tale land that has nothing to do with his heroic world (2014, 264–270). Once escaped from 'fairyland', however, Odysseus returns to the heroic world, in which he needs to win back his name, fame and home. He does so by eventually defeating the suitors in a real martial *aristeia*.[19] Odysseus (again) successfully combines the different tactics in this battle, and thus provides an ultimate example of the complementarity of strength and wit.

The notion of this double skill in his character is explicitly thematized in his speeches to Ajax Major in *Posthomerica* 5. At the beginning of his first speech, Odysseus even provides a list that is remarkably similar to Nestor's μῆτις lesson to Antilochus in the *Iliad* (Q.S. 5.243–250; James 2004, 297–298 and Maciver 2012a, 621–622). The examples provided by both Nestor in the *Iliad* and Odysseus in the *Posthomerica* are recognizable situations that frequently occur in the comparans of similes (Nestor: woodcutting; Odysseus: lion, leopard and boar hunting, bulls under the yoke; both also mention sailing). The last item on Nestor's list (chariots) creates a transition to the real race Antilochus faces. Both lists strive to exemplify the added value of wits to accomplish acts of force, but Odysseus' examples in the *Posthomerica* sound more extreme and violent than Nestor's: he mentions people cutting loose rocks in the mountains, the hunting of the most dangerous animals and the yoking of bulls rather than cows. Of course, Odysseus has a stronger point to make: he needs to convince

18 Participants to the assembly are also distinguished in battle, while ambushes in the *Iliad* are only performed by πρόμαχοι, e.g. in the *Dolonia* (Horn 2014, 61, 96–98; interestingly, the words δόλος or λόχος are never used in the nightly events of *Iliad* 10 or to refer to them).

19 *Odyssey* 22 may well be called the most Iliadic passage of the *Odyssey*, with the symbolism of Odysseus' special weapon and garb, the presentation of his successive victims, Odysseus' rejection of supplications and the limited bloodshed on his side. The entire battle serves to win back his lost τιμή, which he now defends relentlessly (Horn 2014, 300–313).

the jury that Ajax's force can be improved by the addition of skills of the mind, such as his own.[20] The establishment of ruse as a means of acceptable warfare, it now turns out, is crucial to the larger plot of the *Posthomerica*.

When looking at the *Posthomerica* as a whole, Figure 9 displays a more or less equable interest in μῆτις and δόλος in the epic, the former considerably higher than the *Iliad* and the latter standing on a similar height as the *Odyssey*.[21] As can be seen in the below graph (Figure 10), moreover, both concepts are now complemented with λόχος. This term is specifically associated with the Trojan Horse since the *Odyssey* (4.277, 8.515, 11.525). Triphiodorus uses the same word most often[22] (lines 2, 92, 120, 201,[23] 382, 539; Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 131–132) for the Horse, but Quintus does so invariably (Q.S. 12.28, 234, 279, 572). Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion*, a brief poem of only 691 verses, is more centrally focused on the ruse of the Trojan Horse than any of the others. The plan has been discussed and agreed upon before the narrative starts, and after the introduction, Epeius immediately starts with its construction (57 ff.). In the *Posthomerica*, the topic has to be gradually broached as the plot develops. After the preparatory discussion in Book 5, Book 12 now presents a second—and crucial—peak moment (see again figure 10).

Odysseus' victory over Ajax finds its most relevant confirmation in Book 12, where, after strongly defending the power of wit and words in Book 5, he is now indeed the only one to come up with a specific plan after Calchas' advice. The idea about the ambush with the Horse is entirely his in the *Posthomerica* (Q.S. 12.21–45), in line with the most popular traditions that came into existence after Homer.[24] The others approve of his suggestion and it is received with

20 In fact, his list indirectly responds to Ajax's own arguments, which are occasionally illustrated with a simile or comparison to his own strength (for example, Ajax compares himself to a lion in lines 187–188). Odysseus never applies similes to himself, but rather reflects on them, and seems to elaborate on "what is needed to accomplish these similes". For further discussion of this passage, see also Calero Secall (1998a, 87), James & Lee (2000, 94) and Maciver (2012a, 620–622 and 2012b, 52–53).

21 The *Argonautica* has a major focus on μῆτις, but this epic indeed deals with an entirely different kind of challenge than the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*, and has a prominent character of wit in Medea (Holmberg 1998 on the relation of μῆτις and gender in the *Argonautica*).

22 The only other occurrence of the word in the *Sack of Ilion* uses λόχος as the snare in a comparison about hunters (line 223), applied to Sinon. For more occurrences of this specific use, see Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 247).

23 According other text editions, including Mair (1928), this line contains the word δόλος instead. Miguélez-Cavero provides an overview (2013, 233).

24 Odysseus does hint at his prominent role in the ruse of the Horse in the *Odyssey*: "Sing of the building of the horse of wood, which Epeius made with Athene's help, the horse which

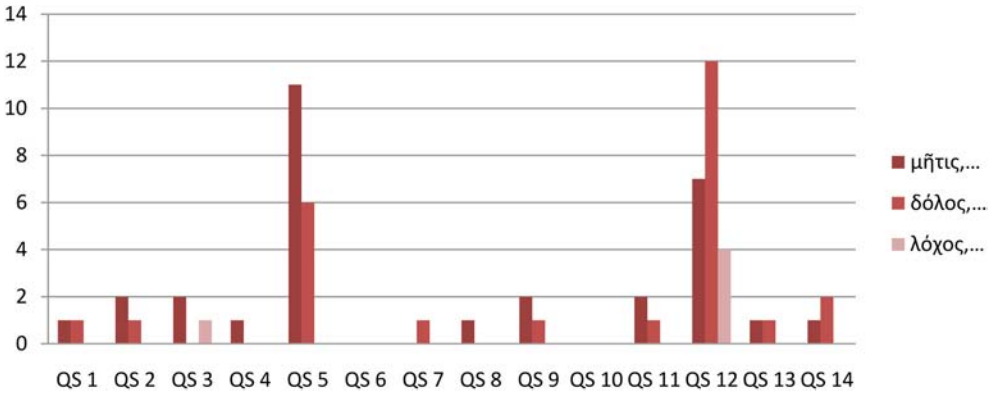


FIGURE 10 μῆτις, δόλος, λόχος and cognates in the *Posthomerica* (absolute numbers)

particularly great cheer by Calchas, who foresees its success (Q.S. 12.46–65). However, one hero stands up to protest:

"Ὦ Κάλχαν, δηίοισι καταντίον ἄλκιμοι ἄνδρες
μάρνανται· τοὶ δ' ἐντὸς ἀλευάμενοι ἀπὸ πύργων
οὐτιδανοὶ πονέονται, ὅσων φρένα δεῖμα χαλέπτει.
Τῶ νῦν μήτε δόλον φραζώμεθα, μήτέ τι μῆχος
ἄλλο· πόνῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἀριστέας ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας
καὶ δορί· θαρσαλέοι γὰρ ἀμείνονες ἐν δαΐ φῶτες."

Neoptolemus: Q.S. 12.67–72

"Calchas, strong men stand and face their foes
When they fight, while those who skulk inside and struggle
Only on their walls are the worthless victims of fear.
Let us not, then, look for a trick or any kind
Of stratagem. Work with the spear[25] is the one true test
Of champions.[26] Brave men always prevail in battle."[27]

once Odysseus led up into the citadel as a thing of guile, when he had filled it with the men who sacked Ilium" (Odysseus: *Odyssey* 8.492–495). Only later traditions make explicit that the entire idea is his. See Campbell (1981, 11–12) for an overview.

25 More specifically, πόνῳ and δορί are juxtaposed in the Greek text. For πόνος in Book 12, see section 5.2.

26 For the word ἀριστεύς in Book 12, see section 5.3.1.

27 Literally, this last sentence assumes that brave men are "better men" (or vice versa). This more clearly mirrors the heroic conviction that Neoptolemus so vehemently defends here.

This expression of his heroic opinion is indeed in line with Neoptolemus' behaviour on the battlefield thus far. In more than one speech in the previous books, the young hero has actively promoted brave fierceness and scorned cowardice.[28] He shares this conviction with his father and Ajax Major, and his present reaction relates to both of these heroes in specific ways (Vian 1969 T3, 91 n. 4). Whereas the noun λόχος only occurs in *Posthomerica* 12, and always refers to the trick of the Horse, the cognate verb λοχάω occurs only once in Quintus' epic, as Achilles disdains Apollo for shooting him from afar like a coward. He spices his scorn with a general reflection on weakness in battle, which he associates with ambush: "Κρύβδα δ' ἀνάλκιδες αἰὲν ἀγαυοτέρους λοχόωσι" ("Stealth is a weakling's way to snare a better man", Achilles: Q.S. 3.76). Ajax not only explicitly agrees with this exclamation of his friend later on in the same book (Q.S. 3.437–443), but he also fervently defends this opinion against Odysseus in *Posthomerica* 5. For Ajax, the use of ruse is contrary to valiance on the battlefield ("No heart for steadfast fighting is in your brest; your concern is with deceit and deeds of shame", Ajax: Q.S. 5.189–190) and he grievously insults Odysseus for it ("Ὦ Ὀδυσεῦ δολομῆτα[29] καὶ ἀργαλεώτατε πάντων", Q.S. 5.292). Hence, Neoptolemus' reaction in *Posthomerica* 12 need not surprise: his stance in this discussion is in line with the heroic beliefs of the two deceased Aeacids and his own. On the other hand, this image of Neoptolemus defending honest, open battle is older than the *Posthomerica*. As Bezantakos convincingly argues, a clear "influence 'idéologique'" from *Philoctetes* can be detected here, especially as far as Neoptolemus' behaviour is concerned (1992, 153; see also Campbell 1981, 24). In fact, the situation of Book 12 seems to be a clear echo of Sophocles' tragedy in more than one respect. One of the strongest points of similarity is exactly this confrontation between Neoptolemus and Odysseus.[30] In Quintus, the latter attempts to convince Neoptolemus to embrace the ruse in the next speech:

"Ὦ τέκος ὀβριμόθυμον ἀταρβέος Αἰακίδαο,
ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἐπέοικεν ἀμύμονι φωτὶ καὶ ἐσθλῇ,

28 E.g. his exhortations to be brave in Q.S. 8.15–22 and 9.275–283. He scorns cowardice in Q.S. 9.261–263 (Deiphobus is saved). He combines both messages in Q.S. 11.217–220.

29 Not a common word in general, the adjective δολομήτης occurs only once in the *Posthomerica*, in this place where it is particularly apt for Odysseus. This word has an invariably negative connotation in Homer, both in the *Iliad* (4.540: Hera suspects Zeus of secrecy) and the *Odyssey* (five times for Aegisthus and once for Clytaemnestra), and even in Triphiodorus (487: Helen is trying to trick the Achaeans).

30 For further elaboration of this and other parallel elements, see Bezantakos (1992, 156–157).

θαρσαλέως μάλα πάντα διίκεο χερσὶ πεποιθώς·
ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀκαμάτοιο τεοῦ πατρὸς ἄτρομος ἀλκὴ
ἔσθενεν ὄλβιον ἄστυ διαπραθέειν Πριάμοιο
οὔθ' ἡμεῖς μάλα πολλὰ πονεύμενοι."
Odysseus: Q.S. 12.74–79

"Stouthearted son of Aeacus' fearless grandson,
Every confident word that you have spoken trusting
In your strength is worthy of a true and brave man.[31]
Yet neither the dauntless valor of your invincible father
Was sufficient[32] to sack the wealthy city of Priam,
Nor were all our endless efforts."

Odysseus confirms what the *Posthomerica* has suggested before, at the end of Book 11 and the beginning of 12, as well as in Nestor's words after Neoptolemus' victory in Book 8: force and battle, even with Neoptolemus' help, will not take Troy. If Achilles himself was not strong enough, Odysseus' message here is clearly that the son must let go of his narrow worship of those qualities of physical power. Nonetheless, he also recognizes those qualities, which are so strong in both Neoptolemus and his father. The heroes of force, however, must now follow the new course along with the others. This argument of Odysseus is quite similar to that in *Philoctetes* (James 2004, 329). During their first discussion about tactics to approach Philoctetes, Sophocles' Odysseus tries to convince Neoptolemus with the same kind of arguments:[33]

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31 James' translation has been challenged by this Greek phrase, which more literally would read: "Those words you have bravely spoken, trusting in your hands (hence the works of your hands), as befits an excellent and noble man." Ἐσθλός and ἀμύμων are typical qualities attributed to valiant warriors. E.g. Ajax committed suicide for not being respected as an ἐσθλός himself, while the so-called 'inferior' Odysseus was honoured (Q.S. 5.476–481; see section 3.3.3).

32 The verb σθένω also implies an aspect of power, which enhances Odysseus' emphasis on the strength of father and son Peleids; hence rather "was sufficiently strong to sack the city".

33 In the process, he also emphasizes Neoptolemus' heroic principles, which he is aware should contradict such a plan as he would himself propose. This is confirmed by Neoptolemus. Compare Odysseus' words "I know, my son, that by nature you are not the sort of man to speak such words or to plot to harm others" (Odysseus: *Philoctetes* 79–80), to Neoptolemus' response: "It is my nature to do nothing by treacherous plotting; that is my nature, and it was also my father's nature. But I am ready to take the man by force (πρὸς βίαν) and not by cunning (μὴ δόλοισιν)" (Neoptolemus: *Philoctetes* 88–91).

"ἐσθλοῦ πατρὸς παῖ, καὐτὸς ὢν νέος ποτὲ
γλῶσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν·
νῦν δ' εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξιὼν ὁρῶ βροτοῖς
τὴν γλῶσσαν, οὐχὶ τἄργα, πάνθ' ἡγουμένην."

Odysseus: *Philoctetes* 96–99

"Son of a noble father, I too when I was young had a tongue that was inactive but an arm that was active; but when I come to put it to the proof I see that it is the tongue, not actions, that rules in all things for mortals."

Philoctetes maintains a clear opposition between violence and ruse. With reasonable arguments and a clear focus on future events, Odysseus is eventually able to convince Neoptolemus that there is no other option than to carefully approach the holder of the bow with a ruse, and the youth concedes (lines 105–122). In the *Posthomerica*, however, Odysseus' argumentation is less effective. In response to Neoptolemus' equally strong opposition to cowardly ruse, Odysseus mainly answers that the lad has to accept that this old idea, and everything Achilles stood for, does not work anymore. This must be an unacceptable blow for the young hero. Moreover, it is not entirely true. In *Posthomerica* 5, the core of Odysseus' argument had been to combine wit and words with strength, in order to make a ploy fully powerful.[34] Although this will be essential to the ruse of the Horse as well (see section 5.2), he fails to explain so to the rebellious Neoptolemus in this moment. Indeed, it seems as if Odysseus' words polarize the situation even more. The reference to Sophocles' tragedy helps to sharpen a disagreement that will need to be brought into harmony later on. The first assembly has strongly emphasized a distinction between past violence and future ruse, in order to justify the change of tactic. For now, however, it ends in plain crisis: Odysseus' last speech has "persuaded all the leaders except the warlike Neoptolemus. Nor was the worthy and audacious mind of Philoctetes convinced, for both of them were hungry still for the horrors of battle" (Q.S. 12.84–87). Both energetic warriors with an eager lust for battle in the previous few books, they still assume that they have been summoned (back) to take Troy by siege (Q.S. 12.91–92). Stubbornly, they prepare their armies to march out into battle. This little 'alliance' of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes at the end of the first assembly is clearly new (Toledano Vargas 2002, 28 n. 29). According to Bezantakos (1992, 156; followed by Boyten 2007, 316–318), it serves as another

34 This has been discussed in section 3.3.2. The addition of μῆτις to Ajax's force should make of Odysseus a more complete hero in the light of future events (Maciver 2012a, 613–615).

link between *Posthomerica* 12 and Sophocles' tragedy. Although Neoptolemus does not join the embassy to Lemnus in the *Posthomerica*, there has been a connection between the two heroes from the moment they both came to Troy (see section 4.4.2). Together, they are the most 'fresh' fighters, sharing a similar drive in battle. Perhaps it also makes sense to look at the chronological order of events, here: by the end of *Philoctetes*, a clear bond has been formed between the two heroes, which is most strongly confirmed by Heracles as he foretells Philoctetes' future in the Trojan War: "And to you I give the same counsel, son of Achilles; for you have not the strength (σθένεις) to conquer the land of Troy without him, neither has he without you; but guard each other like two companion lions!" (Heracles: *Philoctetes* 1433–1437). Their revolt in *Posthomerica* 12 seems to live up to this advice, and is clearly inspired by a similar urge to fulfil their destiny in the Trojan War. In a sense, then, this reference to *Philoctetes* is history repeating itself, but the alliance could also be inflamed by that earlier discussion. When Zeus witnesses such wilful disobedience, he launches a terrible thunderbolt in front of their feet. Both heroes understand this message and reluctantly (οὐκ ἐθέλοντε, Q.S. 12.100) forget about their preference for strength (βίης καὶ κάρτεος ἐσθλοῦ, Q.S. 12.99) in order to join the ruse. Only Zeus' violent intervention can eventually keep these violent heroes in check. It is important to note that, despite their eventual obedience to the plan, this scene confirms the nature of their heroic conviction by the extreme measures Zeus has to take. Moreover, their consent is unwilling, which must be kept in mind for their future part in the plan.

Hence, this first assembly presents an active and polemic debate about the use of battle tactics for the Sack of Troy. The strong opposition of βίη and μῆτις, as is stressed here, is younger than Homer. This goes for both the conflict of battle tactics in general (see above) and the application of this debate to the Trojan Horse in particular. Bezantakos gives an overview of sources younger than Homer in which the debate about battle tactics and the Horse is kindled: in the Homeric *scholia*, for example, the dispute between Odysseus and Achilles mentioned in Demodocus' song (*Odyssey* 8.75–77), is interpreted as a quarrel about tactics to take Troy, and Philostratus establishes Sthenelus as the fervent opponent of the ruse, in defence of the spirit of Achilles (1992, 154; see also Vian 1969 T3, 83–84).[35] Quintus' giving this role to Neoptolemus is otherwise unattested

35 Although not a prominent or remarkable warrior in the *Posthomerica* (see Vian 1969 T3, 272–273 for an overview of his actions), Sthenelus is remarkably named fourth (after Neoptolemus, Menelaus and Odysseus, but before Diomedes and Philoctetes) in the catalogue of heroes (Q.S. 12.316). Whether for matters of deeds, tradition or metre is hard to determine. Campbell gives an overview of verse sequences including the name Sthenelus in

(Campbell 1981, 25 and James 2004, 329), but, thus far, Neoptolemus' characterization in the *Posthomerica* has developed into this direction, which makes his present reaction logical. Possible precedents can be found not only in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, but even in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus stresses Neoptolemus' eagerness to leave the Horse (Toledano Vargas 2002, 28 n. 29):

"(…) ὁ δέ με μάλα πόλλ' ἱκέτευεν
ἱππόθεν ἐξέμεναι, ξίφεος δ' ἐπεμαίετο κώπην
καὶ δόρυ χαλκοβαρές, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μενοίνα."
Odysseus: *Odyssey* 11.530–532

"He earnestly besought me to let him go out from the horse, and kept handling his sword hilt and his spear heavy with bronze, and was eager to work harm to the Trojans."

Besides his—by now obvious—eagerness and valiance, this citation also stresses the impatience that has repeatedly characterized the representation of Posthomeric Neoptolemus thus far (see Chapter 4). Moreover, this passage might imply that "δόλος is not to his liking" (Campbell 1981, 25). If this is alluded to by Homer, Sophocles most explicitly establishes the image of a Neoptolemus loath, like his father, to engage in anything that cannot be appreciated as a direct confrontation in a fight. Odysseus' characterization has also lost its nuance in later traditions.[36] *Philoctetes* stages a clear example of the deceiving hero whose talent to beguile is a symptom of his cowardice. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* Quintus found the ideal outline to develop an opposition stronger than what Homer might have suggested (Bezantakos 1992, 155). The strong opposition between βίη and δόλος in the tragedy[37] is again thematized in the

other traditions (1981, 106). The strong juxtaposition of his name with Odysseus' in Quintus' catalogue might imply a reference to this other tradition of vehement debate about the Horse's battle tactics.

36 As pointed out in section 3.4 footnote 151, opinions about Quintus' Odysseus differ. Personally, I am convinced that in general, the Odysseus of the *Posthomerica* strongly adheres to his more nuanced version in Homer. In this particular passage in Book 12, however, the situation seems to be deliberately polarized.

37 A case in point is the following fragment: ODY: "Λέγω σ' ἐγὼ δόλῳ Φιλοκτήτην λαβεῖν." | NEO: "Τί δ' ἐν δόλῳ δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαντ' ἄγειν;" | ODY: "Οὐ μὴ πίθηται· πρὸς βίαν δ' οὐκ ἂν λάβοις." ("ODY: I am telling you to take Philoctetes by a trick.| NEO: But why must I take him by a trick rather than by persuasion? | ODY: He will never be persuaded, and you could not take him by force", *Philoctetes* 101–103). For further discussion of the use of these terms in *Philoctetes*, see Bezantakos (1992, 157).

Posthomerica. Triphiodorus goes even further. As Tomasso notices, the *Sack of Ilion* has a strong focus on Odysseus and the ruse, but uses the word βίη only for Athena pushing the Horse through the gates (line 331) and for Ajax raping Cassandra (line 649): "These passages thus effectively erase βίη from the Capture of Troy's narrative and thematic equation, whereas Quintus carefully delineates how the two heroic qualities are necessary for the completion of the war" (Tomasso 2010, 261).[38] The *Posthomerica* will indeed not go so far, nor could it: Quintus' epic has focused too much on the strength of heroes to completely abandon it now. The brief revolt of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes explicitly advocates this position (Tomasso 2012, 394). As has been shown at the end of the first assembly, a new tactic will be successful, but only if the right heroes join the plan. This is discussed in a second assembly, organized by Odysseus after the Horse has been constructed.

5.2 Heroes, May the Force Be with You

After the brief intermezzo of a *theomachy*, which goes unnoticed by the humans and is—again—violently stopped by Zeus' thunderbolt (Q.S. 12.157–218),[39] Odysseus calls together the Achaeans in a second assembly. Unlike the three previous ones, this last gathering in the *Posthomerica* comprises seven speeches (instead of five) and is not placed at the beginning of a book.[40] The initial situation is not the same, either. Rather than introducing an entirely new event, this council builds upon what has been decided only a few hundred verses earlier. Besides elaborating this newly outlined plan by appointing the right heroes to every task, the assembly is inevitably confronted with the wounds left after the previous meeting (Schenk 1997, 375). For the intended cooperation to be successful, this second gathering has to present a more nuanced view of the facts.

38 For more references to passages that "spoil [the] image of martial perfection" in Triphiodorus, see Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 20 and 25–26, for Neoptolemus specifically; his characterization in the *Sack of Ilion* is further discussed in the excursus to section 5.2).

39 This episode is studied in depth by e.g. Carvounis (2008) and Bär (2016).

40 Odysseus starts this assembly with an outline of the tasks that need to be filled in (Q.S. 12.220–242), Sinon volunteers for one of them (Q.S. 12.247–252) and an anonymous Achaean admires Sinon for this (Q.S. 12.254–258). Next, Nestor states that he will take his chances to gain glory, despite his age, by entering the Horse (Q.S. 12.261–273), but Neoptolemus restrains him and volunteers himself, as a younger hero (Q.S. 12.275–280). Nestor praises him (Q.S. 287–296), and Neoptolemus finally voices his full commitment to the task (Q.S. 12.298–302).

Odysseus starts with an appeal to each man's valor: he is looking for "οἵ τινές ἐστε | ἐκπάγλως κρατεροὶ καὶ ἀμύμονες" ("which ones among you have extraordinary strength and caliber", Q.S. 12.221–222) to achieve the "τέκμωρ | (…) πολέμοιο δυσηχέος" ("and end to this confusion of war", Q.S. 12.224–225). In fact, the first statement of his speech is thus that the strong and valiant warriors are needed to accomplish the δόλος (line 226), and that good courage is vital (θαρσήσας, line 231 and θάρσος, line 233). Thus cleverly combining the two aspects that Neoptolemus had contrasted only a few hundred lines before, Odysseus creates the right context to give an overview of the tasks at hand, and of who will be needed for those:

"Ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀριστῆες μὲν ἐϋν λόχον ἐντύνασθε·
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Τενέδοιο πρὸς ἱερὸν ἄστυ μολόντες
μίμνετε, εἰς ὅ κεν ἄμμε ποτὶ πτόλιν εἰρύσσωσι
δήιοι ἐλπόμενοι Τριτωνίδι δῶρον ἄγεσθαι.
Αἰζηῶν δέ τις ἐσθλός, ὃν οὐ σάφα Τρῶες ἴσασι,
μιμνέτω ἄγχ' ἵπποιο σιδήρεον ἐνθέμενος κῆρ."

Odysseus: Q.S. 12.234–239

"You leaders,[41] then, must form an effective ambush,
While the rest of you go and wait at the holy town
Of Tenedus, till we leaders are hauled inside the city
By foes who suppose that they are bringing Tritonis a gift.
Some brave young man who is not known to the Trojans
Must stay beside the horse with a heart as strong as steel."

Odysseus' words contain an echo of his first speech in the other assembly, when he had outlined the plan as a whole as well (see Q.S. 12.28–41). What now follows is, essentially, a discussion about who should perform which task. Indeed, for each of the three tasks listed by Odysseus, candidates will stand up and react. This happens in more or less the reverse order in which Odysseus mentions them (Schenk 1997, 375).

The first one to respond to Odysseus' call is Sinon, a hero who has thus far not been mentioned in the *Posthomerica*. The fact that this character is apparently unknown in the Achaean and thus, more importantly, also the Trojan ranks makes him particularly qualified for the task of fooling the Trojans into

41 James is not consistent in his translation of the word ἀριστῆες. The choice of 'leaders' is particularly confusing, especially in relation to the last text passage that I discuss in section 5.3.1.

accepting the Horse. He volunteers when all others take fright, and earns the admiration of the army for his firm commitment:

> "ἔργον μὲν τόδ' ἔγωγε λιλαιομένοισι τελέσσω,
> (…) τὸ γάρ νύ μοι εὔαδε θυμῷ,
> ἢ θανέειν δηΐοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἢ ὑπαλύξαι
> Ἀργείοις μέγα κῦδος ἐελδομένοισι φέροντα."
> Sinon: Q.S. 12.248–252

> "I will carry out this deed as you desire
> (…) My heart is firmly resolved
> Either to die at the hands of the foe or, by escaping,
> To win great glory for the Argives in their need."

He is praised for his courage by both the narrator (ὣς φάτο θαρσαλέως, Q.S. 12.253) and an Achaean τις ("ὡς τῷδε θεὸς μέγα θάρσος ἔδωκε | σήμερον" or "truly some god has given him courage today", Q.S. 12.254–255). The latter, moreover, suggests that this courage is crucial to the ploy: Sinon was not known for his bravery before ("οὐ γὰρ πρόσθεν ἔην θρασύς", Q.S. 12.255), so the gods must have bestowed it upon him for this special occasion. They believe that victory will now finally be theirs ("ἀργαλέου πολέμοιο τέκμωρ εὔδηλον", Q.S. 12.258). Although the words θάρσος, θαρσαλέος and θαρσέω occur frequently in the *Posthomerica* (27, 45 and four occurrences respectively, in all books save the last one), the density of the idea of courage is by far the highest in Book 12 (12 occurrences in 241 verses: all of them during the first two assemblies, eight of which in the second one). As is amply emphasized from now on, courage is an important requirement for the Sack of Troy; for Sinon in particular, but also for the Achaeans in general. Sinon's role in the ruse is discussed in more detail in section 5.3.2. What is essential for now—since it provides the impetus for the next conversation—is the heroic commitment Sinon has expressed while volunteering that he will either die or bring the Achaeans κῦδος. Only now does the idea that honour will be the reward of those who sack Troy make its first explicit appearance in Book 12, and Nestor eagerly takes up this idea in his next speech.

He too begins his speech with an appeal to courage: "Νῦν χρειώ, φίλα τέκνα, βίης καὶ θάρσεος ἐσθλοῦ" ("Now we have need, dear children, of strength and courage", Q.S. 12.261; also θαρσαλέως in line 264). By explicitly including βίη, he refers to Neoptolemus' battle focus (compare lines 99–100 above: ἐκ δ' ἐλάθοντο βίης καὶ κάρτεος ἐσθλοῦ· | καί ῥα κλυτῷ Κάλχαντι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντε πίθοντο), and assesses that this too is needed in the coming situation. Next, he foresees not only the success of the ruse, but also that entering the Horse grants honour:

'κλέος' ("ἐπεὶ μερόπεσσι κλέος μέγα θάρσος ὀπάζει", Q.S. 12.265). After wishing he were still young and strong as in the time of the Argonauts, he decides to ignore his old age and bravely (θαρσαλέως, line 273) enter the Horse anyway: "Κάρτος δὲ θεὸς καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσει" (Nestor: Q.S. 12.273). With these words, he not only echoes Sinon's desire for honour, but also strengthens it in a particular way. Whereas the word κῦδος occurs regularly in the *Posthomerica* (23 times in 12 of the 14 Books, rather evenly distributed), the word κλέος is much rarer.[42] Before Book 12, it has mostly been associated with the specific kind of honour that Achilles and Neoptolemus seek to obtain: Thersites reminds Achilles that κλέος is found on the battlefield (Q.S. 1.739), Calliope assures Thetis that her son will always have it in the songs of mortals (Q.S. 3.645), Diomedes and Odysseus recount to Neoptolemus how Achilles has brought much κλέος to the Atreids (the only occurrence in narrator text, if still in indirect speech: Q.S. 7.381) and Phoenix expects that Neoptolemus will gain κλέος for killing Eurypylus (Q.S. 7.663). In Book 9, then, Neoptolemus exhorts his troops to go gain κλέος in brave battle (Q.S. 9.278). Diomedes, finally, uses the word in a more general gnome: "Θάρσος γὰρ μερόπεσσι κλέος μέγα, φύζα δ' ὄνειδος" ("It's courage that brings men glory; flight brings only shame", Q.S. 6.46), while exhorting the Achaeans, and Menelaus in particular, to take up arms again after Achilles' death. His words are echoed by Nestor in his first speech of Book 12 (see above, line 265), which again implicitly relates them to Achilles' son. His speech indeed triggers a reaction from Neoptolemus, for the first time since the young hero was stopped by Zeus' thunderbolt:

"Ὦ Νέστορ, σὺ μὲν ἐσσι νόῳ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν
πάντων· ἀλλά σε γῆρας ἀμείλιχον ἀμφιμέμαρφεν
οὐδέ τοι ἔμπεδός ἐστι βίη χατέοντι πόνοιο.
Τῶ σε χρὴ Τενέδοιο πρὸς ἠόνας ἀπονέεσθαι·
ἐς δὲ λόχον νέοι ἄνδρες ἔθ' ὑσμίνης ἀκόρητοι
βησόμεθ', ὡς σύ, γεραιέ, λιλαιομένοις ἐπιτέλλεις."

Neoptolemus: Q.S. 12.275–280

42 Campbell seems to have a somewhat deformed impression of this: of κλέος, he notes that it is "common in Q. as in Homer" (1981, 91; references to Homer: 97), whereas he finds κῦδος a more complex term to define (ibid. 93). Maciver studies κῦδος and κλέος resulting from πόνος as a recurrent motif in Book 12 and the rest of the epic (2012b, 83–84). Quintus seems to use the term in its "Iliadic meaning of 'glory won in war'" (ibid., 83 n. 172). In any case, κλέος seems to be more exclusive and ever-lasting than κῦδος. For an overview of scholarly definitions of both terms, see section 1.2.2 footnotes 62 and 63.

> "Nestor, for intelligence you are the greatest of all men.
> But merciless old age has you in its grip,
> Nor is your strength sufficient for the work you desire.
> So you must withdraw to the shores of Tenedus.
> As for the ambush, we the young men, hungry for battle,
> Will enter it eager to do your bidding, old sire."

That Nestor is the νόῳ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν may well be true, for his words have extracted from Neoptolemus the exact reaction that was needed. Not only is Nestor the first to make an explicit appeal to βίη in relation to the ruse, which is certainly likely to attract the attention of the grudging Neoptolemus, but he also undermines his own ability to provide such 'violence' for the ruse. He goes back to the era of the Argonauts, just to mention that he was not allowed to join that expedition. This queer little *exemplum*[43] illustrates Nestor's old age, which in turn marks his intention to enter the Horse as foolish: he would deliberately ignore his γῆρας to enter the Horse. Neoptolemus jumps at that fact and states that his youth will provide the βίη for this undertaking.[44] The latter's sudden eagerness, which contrasts with his οὐκ ἐθέλοντε (Q.S. 12.100) at the end of the previous assembly, may be caused by the promise of κλέος, which is foreshadowed in Nestor's speech for the first time.[45] This and the fact that he will

43 Although Nestor is indeed assumed to have been of the same generation as the Argonauts, his explicit rejection from the expedition is an otherwise unattested fact (James 2004, 330). During the Quintus Workshop 2013, Tomasso noted that only Valerius Flaccus mentions Nestor as part of that expedition, and only in a minor role. Quintus' mention of Nestor's exclusion could therefore in itself be puzzling, but considered in relation to other stories about the old king in the *Posthomerica*, it fits into a pattern of references to the past in which Nestor is ironically absent. On a metapoetical level, Nestor could thus provide a reflection on the traditions with which the *Posthomerica* engages. Tomasso also mentioned the old association of the Trojan Horse and the *Argo*, which renders Nestor's unusual *paradeigma* more credible in this context. This association is more common in the *Posthomerica*, as suggests the unique use of the word μεγακήτεος, in the *Posthomerica* found only once for the Horse (Q.S. 12.151), but elsewise most often associated with ships or sea-creatures (Kneebone 2007, 304). A more extensive analysis of the use of this adjective is provided by Spinoula (2008, 91–92).

44 Neoptolemus thus obviously characterizes himself as a young warrior: "ἐς δὲ λόχον νέοι ἄνδρες ἔθ' ὑσμίνης ἀκόρητοι | βησόμεθ'" ("As for the ambush, we the young men, hungry for battle, will enter it eager", Q.S. 12.279–280). Campbell even suggests that he refers to his own name (1981, 95). Triphiodorus makes a more obvious pun of this kind (see section 4.3.2).

45 Campbell sees an echo of the *Dolonia* both here and later in the Sinon episode (1981, 121). In *Iliad* 10, Nestor asked for Achaean volunteers to spy on the Trojan camp, promising κλέος for this rather treacherous undertaking if successful (line 212).

be able to use his βίῃ to achieve it completely alter his understanding of the situation. If Nestor's speech was indeed intent on subtly reaching out to Neoptolemus and on revitalizing his interest in the cause, he has clearly succeeded. Nestor, in turn, is eager to accept Neoptolemus' offer to replace him. If we were to take the old king's first speech entirely seriously, this would be a puzzling reaction. Indeed, it cannot be denied that Nestor seemed willing to enter the Horse himself. Despite his age, Quintus' Nestor seemingly attempts to remain an active warrior,[46] and his desire to enter the Horse is repeatedly expressed.[47] However, Nestor specifically rejoiced in the young hero's "undertaking first to enter the spacious horse himself, while urging the older man to stay outside with the other Danaans, in his desire for toil" (Q.S. 12.283–284), that is, for the fact that Neoptolemus lusts for battle again.[48] If Nestor's speech could therefore be interpreted as subtle manipulation,[49] Neoptolemus' reaction would clearly fit into the image that we have of him thus far: young, perhaps not quite old enough to fully grasp the rhetorical game that is being played, but a particularly eager warrior, loath to use a ruse but longing to gain κλέος as his father did before him. Nestor confirms this in his next words:

> "Ἐσσὶ πατρὸς κείνοιο βίῃ καὶ εὔφρονι μύθῳ
> ἀντιθέου Ἀχιλῆος· ἔολπα δὲ σῇσι χέρεσσιν
> Ἀργείους Πριάμοιο διαπραθέειν κλυτὸν ἄστυ.
> Ὀψὲ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ καμάτοιο μέγα κλέος ἔσσεται ἡμῖν"
>
> Nestor: Q.S. 12.287–290

> "In strength as well as wise words you are the son of your father
> Godlike Achilles. I hope that with the help of your hands
> We Argives will lay waste the famous city of Priam.
> At last our toil will be rewarded with great glory."

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46 See also his challenge of Memnon in Q.S. 2.300–341, which the latter refuses on grounds of Nestor's age. Boyten claims that Quintus' Nestor "threatens to challenge the Homeric convention of the non-combatant *geron*" (2010, 146–148), although the old king's battle intervention is lamentable indeed (Mansur 1940, 27). Campbell makes the comparison of the perception of Nestor's old age in Homer and Quintus (1981, 89–90).

47 Both in this scene and when the fleet leaves for Tenedus, for Nestor and Agamemnon together (Q.S. 12.340–341; see section 5.3.1).

48 Neoptolemus' regained enthusiasm is stressed three times in Nestor's focalization: ὑπέσχετο πρῶτος ἐς εὐρέα δύμεναι ἵππον ("for undertaking first to enter the spacious horse", Q.S. 12.283), ἐέλδετο γὰρ πονέεσθαι ("in his desire for toil", 285) and μιν ἰωχμοῖο λιλαιόμενον ("in view of his keenness for battle", 286).

49 Also note that Nestor's first speech is intent on encouraging—presumably—Neoptolemus (ἐποτρύνων μετέειπε: Q.S. 12.260).

Nestor's first words stress Neoptolemus' resemblance to his father in—again—βίῃ, but also in words, possibly referring to his most recent speech, which was inspired by the old battle spirit. Remarkably, Nestor repeats the word κλέος for the eighth and last time in the *Posthomerica*, as if to underline to Neoptolemus that he has indeed made the right decision to gain the promised κλέος. The old king also seems to imply that Neoptolemus is a vital part of the puzzle to take Troy, and that the contribution that is required from him is indeed his battle power.[50] He finishes his speech with a gnome about πόνος as the human way to achieve κῦδος. This "commonplace of toil as a necessary means to virtue or glory" is a recurrent motif in the *Posthomerica* (Maciver 2012b, 77–86). In this passage, Nestor seems to apply Quintus' more general reflection on life (possibly of Stoic inspiration) to the Achaean situation in the *Posthomerica* in particular:

> The Greeks will achieve their *kleos* by the hands of Neoptolemus. Here it is clear that the *Arete* that the Greeks are in pursuit of, through *ponos*, is martial and is related to military glory, *kleos* (…) or *kudos* (…). In the world in which Nestor finds himself, this is how he interprets and applies the figure of the mountain of *Arete* presented on the shield of Achilles. (…) Outside of the world of the *Posthomerica*, we as readers are told that a life of *ponos* (…) is what we must undertake. This is how to live, as long as we have the right qualities of rightmindedness, strength, and willingness to endure hardship and the Stoic life, to be apathetic to external circumstances, whatever they might be.
>
> ibid. 84–85; see also MACIVER 2007, 273–275

This is one of the passages in which different views on life—possibly on different text-internal and meta-literary levels—meet within the narrative of the *Posthomerica*. The conclusion to my study provides a more extensive reflection on this possible interplay—or clash—of different beliefs in the *Posthomerica*. For now, Neoptolemus makes a final reply in which he confirms his heroic commitment:

50 The specific mention of "the use of his hands" (line 288) could also be read as an implicit reference to (and refutation of) Odysseus' refusal of Neoptolemus' pure power in the first assembly: "Θαρσαλέως μάλα πάντα διίκεο χερσὶ πεποιθώς· | ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀκαμάτοιο τεοῦ πατρὸς ἄτρομος ἀλκὴ | ἔσθενεν" ("Every confident word that you have spoken trusting in your strength is worthy of a true and brave man. Yet the dauntless valor of your invincible father was not sufficient", Odysseus: Q.S. 12.76–78).

"Ὦ γέρον, ὡς σύ γ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσί, τοῦτο πέλοιτο
ἡμῖν εὐχομένοισιν, ἐπεὶ πολὺ λώιον οὕτω⟨ς⟩.
Εἰ δ' ἑτέρως ἐθέλουσι θεοί, καὶ τοῦτο τετύχθω·
βουλοίμην δ' ὑπ' Ἄρηι ἐυκλειῶς ἀπολέσθαι
ἠὲ φυγὼν Τροίηθεν ὀνείδεα πολλὰ φέρεσθαι."

Neoptolemus: Q.S. 12.298–302

"Old fellow, may your expectation be fulfilled,
Since that is our prayer and that is to be preferred.
But if the gods choose otherwise, so be it also.
I would rather be the war god's glorious victim
Than escape from Troy with a burden of disgrace."

Only now does he express his explicit obedience to the gods, although he had been reluctant after the first assembly. However, in the final two lines he also stresses that his heroic activities still maintain the same focus: to bravely die in Ares' turmoil, if need be. He does not mention the ruse, but is now fully prepared to take his sword to the final battle. It could thus be stated that Nestor has brought Neoptolemus into the mood to join the ruse, by pointing out to him that force (βίη) will be inevitably necessary, appealing to the Achilles-like eagerness of the young hero and underlining the great gain that he can still obtain from such force, even in this apparently sneaky situation.[51] Immediately afterwards, Neoptolemus dons his father's armour to lead the foremost Achaeans into the Horse. Neoptolemus is back, and it seems that he will be able to remain true to himself and his heroic convictions in what follows. After these events, it is interesting to look back at Odysseus' description of Neoptolemus in the Underworld. He had assured Achilles that "in truth, as often as we took counsel around the city of Troy, he [Neoptolemus] was always the first to speak, and never erred in his words; godlike Nestor and I alone surpassed him" (Odysseus: *Odyssey* 11.510–512). In this passage, Odysseus essentially states that Neoptolemus was skilled as both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds.[52] Neoptolemus' recent revolt against the assembly, on the other hand, could be interpreted as a

51 The prospect of personal gain in the Trojan War is also the most important trigger for Neoptolemus to accept Odysseus' ruse in *Philoctetes* ("But what advantage is it for me if he should come to Troy?" Neoptolemus: *Philoctetes* 112). Only there, Odysseus is able to convince the youth himself, without the help of a Nestor: he states that Neoptolemus cannot take Troy without the bow (or *vice versa*), that Philoctetes has the bow and that (therefore) Philoctetes cannot be taken by force (lines 105–116).

52 On Neoptolemus as a speaker in Quintus, see Langella (forthcoming).

rather extreme counterexample. Equally telling, however, is that Neoptolemus faces both Odysseus and Nestor in these two assembly scenes and is eventually convinced to concede.

This scene again provides a clear impression of Neoptolemus' heroic characterization. In previous scholarship, it has been used to argue for many interpretations of Quintus' Neoptolemus. Two somewhat contradictory tendencies can be mentioned: there are those who find that in standing up for his own code of honour, Neoptolemus again manifests himself as an ideal hero (Toledano Vargas 2002, 37–38; Boyten 2007, 316–319 and 2010, 192), but also those who find that he shows good heroic behaviour by eventually respecting the gods (Boyten ibid.) and/or embracing the new idea of combining strength and ruse (Kneebone 2007, 289).[53] Nowhere in this passage, however, does Neoptolemus explicitly agree with the idea of ruse. His initial revolt against the first assembly is an act of unacceptably impetuous behaviour and, judging from the extremely violent reaction by Zeus, not a very clever one either. Although he is finally forced to concede, he remains reluctant[54] until Nestor explicitly promises him κλέος for joining in as a fighter. Only this absolves him of his moral objection and makes him voice complete agreement with the god's decision (Schenk 1997, 375–376). His behaviour is and remains inspired by his understanding of the code of his father. Whereas I agree with Kneebone that by the end of the *Posthomerica*, mere violence has clearly failed and the Achaeans have no choice but to embrace the combination of ruse and force to sack Troy,[55] I am not convinced that this involves a personal evolution of Neoptolemus as well,[56] nor do I believe that such a personal evolution would at all be necessary here. That

53 Kneebone is followed by Tomasso, who also analyses Quintus' shield description in Book 5 as an adaptation suited to the new role of Neoptolemus in the war (2010, 190–193).

54 Against Boyten, who states that "he [Neoptolemus] reverently bows to the will of the gods" (2007, 318). This is contradicted by the exact words in Q.S. 12.100: they obey "despite their will" (οὐκ ἐθέλοντε).

55 She argues that the fishing simile for Neoptolemus in Q.S. 7.569–575 already foreshadows Neoptolemus' decision to embrace ruse in combination with violence in Book 12 (see also section 4.2.2.1 footnote 105), an impression that is strengthened by the purely violent fishing simile of the failing Deiphobus two books later (Kneebone 2007, 293, 300–304). However, this remains purely metaphorical in both cases, since Neoptolemus' victory in the comparandum is invariably obtained without ruse, in open battle. This means that Achilles' son reached Book 12 as a full-blood battlefield hero.

56 Kneebone states that the initially rebellious reaction of Philoctetes and Neoptolemus in Book 12 is inspired by their relative 'naivety' as the newest heroes to the war (2007, 295). In lines 87–92, the two heroes indeed assume that the gods have brought them to Troy to obtain victory by battle. However, even when the immediate reaction of Zeus proves them wrong, they are not quite ready to let go of this idea.

both Achilles and Ajax have died in and because of the greatness of their—by the end perhaps excessive—heroic strength might have suggested (at least at the end of Book 5) that an era is has come to an end.[57] However, it is my assumption that Neoptolemus takes up the thread of his father's heroic convictions and practices upon his arrival in Book 7. The mere presence of the young hero, who is strongly characterized in the light of his father throughout the epic, seems to contradict the beginning of a post-Achilles era in which things have to change. Although resorting to new tactics is inevitable, Neoptolemus—at least in Quintus' version—does not seem to differ from his father by participating to this ruse (against Kneebone 2007, 301, 305). Rather, he is convinced by Nestor that it will still allow him the kind of honour that he and his father have always sought. Therefore, I would not argue that Neoptolemus shows himself to be a new 'kind' of hero here, let alone an ideal version of it. In the reconciliation of ruse and violence, Neoptolemus still stands on the side of violence, and thus, he still remains true to the beliefs of his father. Moreover, ruse does not overshadow the old tactic of violence in the rest of this book; on the contrary, more than in other, later sources, Quintus continues to emphasize the need for courage and violent confrontation to execute this plan.

Excursus: Neoptolemus in Triphiodorus[58]

Triphiodorus' preparation of the Horse, and particularly Neoptolemus' role in it, shows a few remarkable similarities to the situation described above. In this chapter, Triphiodorus is discussed more extensively in section 5.3.2, in the discussion of Sinon. However, Triphiodorus' Neoptolemus also provides remarkable material for comparison to Quintus. The etymological use of the young hero's name has already been mentioned in section 4.3.2. In the *Sack of Ilion*, the son of Achilles appears in only three rather brief passages: 51–54 (about his arrival), 152–158 (where he is the first volunteer in the Horse) and 634–643 (where he kills Priam). That he is not nearly as omnipresent as in the *Posthomerica* implies that his characterization is less constantly established throughout

57 Initially, Neoptolemus' behaviour in Book 12 seems to confirm this. By following the heroic example of Ajax and Achilles in his revolt against the ruse, he brings down divine wrath upon himself. Kneebone aptly states: "Neoptolemus would do well to analyse his role-models carefully" (2007, 297).

58 I would like to thank Laura Miguélez-Cavero for pointing out to me the intriguing parallels between Neoptolemus' characterization in the *Posthomerica* and the *Sack of Ilion*, and for her valuable suggestions about Triphiodorus in general.

the text. For example, Miguélez-Cavero calls the first mention of Neoptolemus an ‘encomiastic medallion’ (2013, 153). In contrast to the *Posthomerica*, which provides ample material for continuous characterization, we can only rely on these three shorter appearances for the same character in the *Sack of Ilion*. Despite this less omnipresent role, a consistent pattern is nonetheless established throughout his characterization in Triphiodorus’ epyllion; one which to a considerable extent reminds the reader of the Posthomeric Neoptolemus. He is characterized by his youth and vigour, the latter a strong echo of Achilles.[59] Diomedes marvels at this very resemblance when following the young hero into the Horse later on (lines 157–158). Just as in *Posthomerica* 12, Neoptolemus is eager to be the first to enter the Horse. In Triphiodorus’ passage, the young hero is compared to a restless horse himself. Miguélez-Cavero reads this image as a strong indication of his impetuousness. The horse is so enthusiastic that it cannot be restrained, which is not the ideal behaviour for a horse that is to be ridden. This image is quite similar to that of *Posthomerica* 7.317–325, where Deidamia attempts to restrain her son like a horse foaming to depart, albeit in vain. Both images not only give quite similar impressions of Neoptolemus’ rather immoderate eagerness, but are also in line with the description of Homer’s Odysseus in the Underworld, where he mentions that once in the Horse, Neoptolemus could not wait to get out (*Odyssey* 11.523–532). Miguélez-Cavero also links the youthful fire in Neoptolemus to his vehement reaction in the first assembly of *Posthomerica* 12 and his violent revolt against the ruse (2013, 214–215). In Triphiodorus, on the contrary, Neoptolemus is immediately convinced by Odysseus’ plan. He is the first one to respond to the latter’s (only) speech outlining the ambush and the subsequent appeal to join in. Nonetheless, both texts seem to present similar responses from Neoptolemus. For, even if Odysseus’ speech in general involves a strong defence of the ruse as the only route to victory,[60] he also dedicates the last three lines to a specific heroic appeal:

“ἔστω δὲ προτέρης ἀρετῆς ἐμφύλιος αἰδώς,
μηδέ τις αἰσχύνειεν ἑὸν κλέος, ὥς κεν ἕκαστος
ἄξιον ὧν ἐμόγησε λάβῃ γέρας ἱπποσυνάων.”

Odysseus: *Sack of Ilion* 149–151

59 E.g. his first introduction as the υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος (line 52) and somewhat later: ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε (line 54), while at the same time “μήπω δ’ εὐφυέεσσιν ἰουλίζων κροτάφοισιν” (“albeit he mantled not yet on his goodly temples the down of manhood”, line 53).

60 For an extensive study, see Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 200–210).

> "But let each clan respect its former valour, and let no man put to shame his fame, so that each may win a recompense for chivalry worthy of his toils."

In this one speech, Triphiodorus' Odysseus incorporates elements similar to both Quintus' Odysseus and his Nestor, who was the first one in the *Posthomerica* to point out that the mission would also lead to κλέος for its participants. Neoptolemus, following in his father's footsteps[61] in Triphiodorus as in Quintus, twice responds to the explicit prospect of honour and virtue resulting from the enterprise of the Horse. In the *Sack of Ilion*, Odysseus' last three lines are emphatic enough not to be ignored by Neoptolemus, who—as befits him—directly and impetuously responds, like a young horse. Given his impulsive nature, it could be assumed that he particularly remembers the last thing he has heard, which is undeniably in line with his and Achilles' idea of heroism. Even if Quintus and Triphiodorus—whoever of them was first—did not necessarily know each other's work, they display similar versions of Neoptolemus, at least until this point in their respective narratives.[62] How the depictions deviate from one another in the portrayal of Priam's murder is discussed in section 6.2.2.

5.3 When a Plan Comes Together

After Neoptolemus leads the way into the Horse, Odysseus' plan is put into practice. Parallel with the latter's first speech in the second assembly, the next three episodes in *Posthomerica* 12 successively focus on the three outlined tasks and their executors: first, there is a catalogue of the heroes who enter the Horse (Q.S. 12.303–335), then the other Achaeans break up camp (Q.S. 12.336–352), and finally, focus shifts to Sinon (Q.S. 12.353–388). As he is found by the Trojans, the second part of Book 12, namely the reception of the Horse into the city, is initiated. In the final part of this chapter, I especially focus on the Achaean heroes involved in the ruse, how they carry out their respective jobs and how this is described and evaluated in relation to the preparatory assemblies. First, I look at the assembled heroes who are allowed to enter the Horse—or not. The second subsection looks deeper into the character of Sinon.

61 And endorsing the 'Homeric ethics' of honour and shame, which are clearly evoked in this passage (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 209).

62 Even the councils of the Achaeans, which indeed are structured differently (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 198), thus seem to have a similar focus.

5.3.1 *The Heroic Shortlist*

Neoptolemus takes the lead of the ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι ὅσοις θρασὺς ἔπλετο θυμός ("the champion warriors, all those with dauntless spirits", Q.S. 12.305; also ὅσοι ἔσαν ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι, line 327). Evidently, it need not surprise us that those who enter the Horse must be the best of the army. This idea is as ancient as the earliest attestations of the Trojan Horse[63] and has not lost its importance for Quintus, who seizes this opportunity for the first and only catalogue in the *Posthomerica*, introduced by the first and only Muse invocation of the epic.[64] The unique presence of both elements at this point in *Posthomerica* 12 at least renders this passage emphatic (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 212). This is the moment where the best (survivors) of the Achaean camp are singled out, named and brought together in the Horse for one ultimate cooperative mission.

The beginning of the *Posthomerica* was all about individual heroes measuring their power against one another. Rather than aiming at victory in the war, they pursued personal victory to enhance their own glory. This was most striking in Books 1 to 5, when Achilles and Ajax still roamed the battlefield. A sample count of superlative adjectives that express 'excellence' supports the idea that nowhere else in the epic is the focus on individual distinction so high: more than half of the superlatives are found in the first five books.[65] When looking at

63 See the summaries of the Epic Cycle: "Then they put the leading heroes (τοὺς ἀρίστους) into the wooden horse. The rest of the Greeks burn their huts and ⟨leaving Sinon behind, who was to light a torch signal for them, in the night⟩ they withdraw to Tenedus" (part of the summary of the *Ilias Parva*: Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, *suppleta ex Apollod. Epit.* 5.6–16). Moreover, it is repeatedly stressed in the *Odyssey*: "The carved horse, wherein all we chiefs of the Argives (πάντες ἄριστοι Ἀργείων) were sitting" (Menelaus: *Odyssey* 4.272–473); "three times did you circle the hollow ambush (...) and you named aloud the chieftains of the Danaans by their names (Δαναῶν ονόμαζες ἀρίστους)" (idem 4.278); "For it was their fate to perish when their city should enclose the great horse of wood, in which were sitting all the best of the Argives (ἄριστοι Ἀργείων)" (*Odyssey* 8.511–513); "And again, when we, the best of the Argives (Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι), were about to go down into the horse which Epeius made, and the command of all was laid upon me (...), then the other leaders and counsellors of the Danaans would wipe away tears from their eyes, and each man's limbs shook beneath him, but never did my eyes see tears from his [Neoptolemus'] cheeks" (Odysseus: *Odyssey* 11.523–530). For more sources about the Trojan Horse, see Vian (1959, 61–62) and, more recently, Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 157–158).

64 Maciver suggests that, since the list of heroes who entered the Horse greatly differs among traditions, this Muse invocation could serve to ensure Quintus' authority: his catalogue is inspired (2012b, 34). For further discussion on the Muse invocation, see section 1.1.2.

65 Based on a count of superlatives that are frequently found in the discourse of heroic supremacy: ἄριστος, ὑπέρτατος, φέριστος, φέρτατος, προφερέστατος, the Posthomeric and Homeric *hapax* βασιλεύτατος (Q.S. 4.126 and *Iliad* 9.69, twice for Agamemnon, which may rather hint at political supremacy) and κρατερώτατος, and also ἔξοχος. Put together, 30 out

character speech that explicitly praises heroes in relation to others, there is an even more decisive focus on the first books.[66] Achilles and Ajax are the characters most often praised as "better than" or "best of".[67] This kind of explicit comparison among characters is much less of an issue for the new heroes after Book 5: only Eurypylus makes two vague allusions to the fact that he is the better fighter (Q.S. 6.388 and 415, both comparatives). Neither Neoptolemus nor Philoctetes ever say such a thing about themselves. There is only one occurrence of another hero praising Neoptolemus as such. When Phoenix starts analysing how Neoptolemus is as superior to Eurypylus as Achilles to Telephus (ὑπέρτερος: Q.S. 7.665), the young hero cuts him off (see also section 4.2.1.2). Book 5 addresses the analysis of individual excellence most thoroughly: the judgment of arms is meant to appoint the ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν (Thetis: Q.S. 5.125), and both Odysseus and Ajax make ample use of comparative adjectives to support their cases. The discussion of excellence in the army reaches its final peak in Book 12, before entirely evaporating in Books 13 and 14. However, the focus in Book 12 is no longer one of exclusively individual excellence, as was quite expressively the case during the judgment of arms. The catalogue of heroes consists of a larger group of men who now need to work together to achieve one goal, one victory that will suit them all.

Among these heroes, Neoptolemus holds an outstanding position, as he is the first to enter the Horse. After him, the usual suspects follow: Menelaus, Odysseus, Diomedes and Philoctetes, but also less famous heroes, most of whom have figured in the rest of the epic.[68] The Epic Cycle mentions that "Odysseus persuaded the fifty best men to get inside the horse, or as the writer

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of 52 occurrences are found in books 1–5; another 6 in Book 12 (this is the second highest frequency in the epic, after Book 1).

66 This second sample only takes into account comparative and superlative forms of adjectives indicating excellence (besides the superlatives listed in footnote 65, also the comparatives ἀμείνων, ἀγαυότερος, ὑπέρτερος, once ἀτιμότερος and once πινυτώτερος) in all Posthomeric character speech. The cases include, among others, vocatives addressing a hero or group, challenges ("you think you are …"), negations ("… you are not"), explicit claims and comparisons that can be expressed by either the hero himself or by one of his friends or foes. I have counted 51 such cases, of which 38 are found in Books 1 to 5 (14 in Book 5 alone); none at all in Books 8, 13 and 14.

67 Achilles is the subject of such expressions fourteen times throughout the epic, Ajax Major twelve times.

68 Vian (1969 T3, 84–86) has analysed the list: 25 names occur elsewhere in the epic. Calchas, Phereus and Antiphos are not part of Quintus' catalogue (neither are Agamemnon and Nestor, for reasons that become clear later on). For a more general overview of heroes who, according to several traditions, are suitable to enter the Horse, see Campbell (1981, 101–102) and especially Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 211–212).

of the little Iliad says, thirteen" (Apollodorus, *The Library* 5.14). However, the sources left to us contradict each other at least as far as the less famous names are concerned, and there is no way of knowing if there existed a canonical list of the heroes in the Horse (James 2004, 331). Despite the intention of the Muse invocation (καθ' ἕκαστον, Q.S. 12.306), Quintus' catalogue is not exhaustive. As for the selection of this crew, the only criterion seems to be that they must be excellent (ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι ὅσοις θρασὺς ἔπλετο θυμός, Q.S. 12.305), or even supremely excellent (ἄλλοι δ' αὖ κατέβαινον ὅσοι ἔσαν ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι, Q.S. 12.327) to join in. Hence, excellence seems to indicate a larger group of people, which is not entirely specified, but includes both the most famous heroes, such as Neoptolemus, and completely unknown characters. Odysseus has a specific name for this 'club of the best'. In the two speeches in which he outlines his plan, he consistently calls those who will have to enter the Horse the 'ἀριστῆες': "ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀριστῆες μὲν ἐὺν λόχον ἐντύνασθε" and "ἵππον τεκτήναντες ἀριστέες ἐς λόχον ἄνδρες | βησόμεθ' ἀσπασίως" (Odysseus: Q.S. 12.234 and 28–29). At first view, this is a rather common epic word. LSJ defines the Homeric meaning as: "Used by Homer mostly in plural: those who excel in valour, chiefs." The *Argonautica*, perhaps unsurprisingly, adopts the word as a frequent term for the Argonauts. Hence, the word is always plural, and (with three exceptions) only occurs in narrator text. Quintus plays with both meanings in his own epic. Four times (in other words, every time before Book 12), the word occurs in a regular battle context, and indicates larger parts of either the Trojan (Q.S. 1.164 and 4.471) or the Achaean army (Q.S. 2.114), or a group of the most excellent fighters of the moment (Q.S. 9.204: Diomedes, Agamemnon and others). Aside from those, Nestor twice (and in quick succession) refers to the Argonauts specifically with the term ἀριστῆες, thus evoking the Apollonian use of the word (Q.S. 12.268 and 269, during the above-discussed *exemplum*). All other instances of the word in the *Posthomerica* can be interconnected, both in terms of meaning and of location in the epic. In total, twelve out of the sixteen Posthomeric occurrences are found in Books 12 and 13, with a remarkable density in *Posthomerica* 12. As Odysseus has already announced, these instances (save for the two in Nestor's speech) are closely related to the ambush, and more specifically to the group of heroes who will enter the Horse. At the very beginning of Book 12, the ἀριστῆες gather in the assembly (Q.S. 12.3). Twice more, the narrator specifies that the first assembly consists of the ἀριστῆες (Q.S. 12.50 and 84).[69] As mentioned above, Odysseus himself finds that the ἀριστῆες must also enter the Horse (in both assemblies:

69 In Triphiodorus, the βασιλῆες are called together (*Sack of Ilion* 108–110).

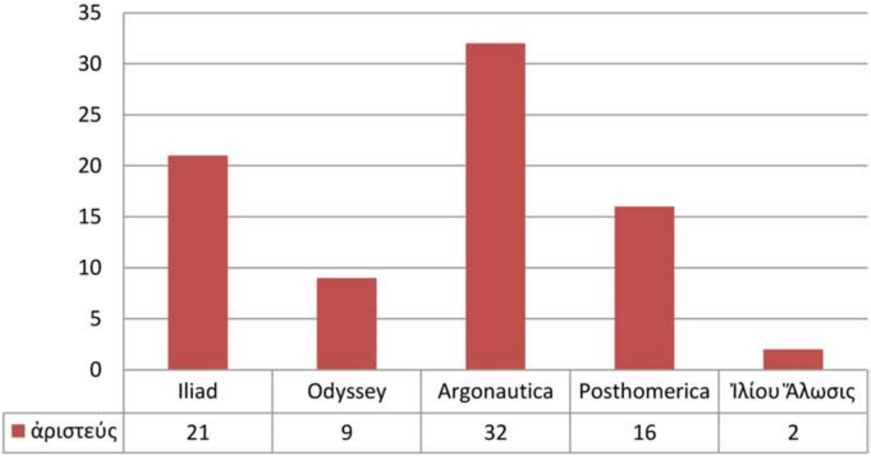

FIGURE 11 ἀριστεύς in epic (absolute numbers)

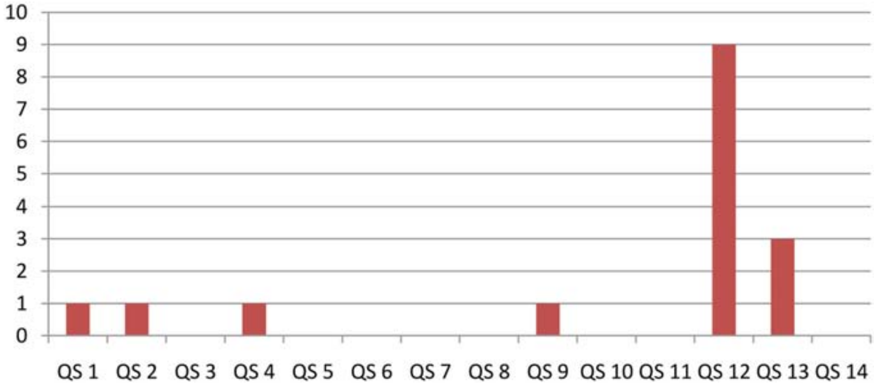

FIGURE 12 ἀριστεύς in the *Posthomerica*

Q.S. 12.28 and 234). Neoptolemus has a different opinion and finds that ἀριστῆες must "work with the spear" (Q.S. 12.71). Both views are reconciled as the young hero takes the lead of the Horse delegation. Indeed, when we look at the word ἀριστῆες in Book 13, it invariably qualifies heroes who have been mentioned in the catalogue, either in general (Q.S. 13.52 and 71) or specific names (Demophon and Acamas: Q.S. 13.517). Triphiodorus' use of the term is equally limited to this specific context (*Sack of Ilion* 308 and 382). Both occurrences in the *Sack of Ilion* are found in rather sinister contexts: the first one as Priam orders his men to drag the Horse (which is, according to the narrator, "stuffed with ἀριστῆες": ἵππον ἀριστήεσσι βεβυσμένον) inside the city walls, and the second time when Cassandra warns of τοῖος ἀριστήων λόχος, but is obviously ignored. This is different in Quintus, who perceives the ἀριστῆες in Books 12 and 13 from an Achaean,

rather than a Trojan perspective, and thus attributes a more positive connotation to the word. In any case, Quintus and Triphiodorus both use the broader Homer qualification of ἀριστῆες specifically for the heroes in the Horse.[70]

One last Posthomeric occurrence, the only one not mentioned thus far, should be discussed: as the best heroes have entered the Horse, the rest of the Achaean army breaks up camp. It then turns out that two important heroes have not joined the other ἀριστῆες:

Τοῖσι δὲ κοιρανέοντε δύω κρατερόφρονε φῶτε
σήμαινον, Νέστωρ τε καὶ αἰχμητὴς Ἀγαμέμνων·
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐλδομένους καταβήμεναι ἔνδοθεν ἵππου
Ἀργεῖοι κατέρυξαν, ἵν' ἐν νήεσσι μένοντες
ἄλλοις σημαίνωσιν, ἐπεὶ πολὺ λώιον ἄνδρες
ἔργῳ ἐποίχονται, ὁπότ' εἰσορόωσιν ἄνακτες·
τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἔκτοθι μίμνον ἀριστῆές περ ἐόντες.

Q.S. 12.338–344

In command of them was a pair of stalwart-hearted
Leaders, Nestor and the spearman Agamemnon.
Despite their desire to enter the horse they had been
Detained by the Argives in order to stay with the fleet and command
The rest of the army, in view of the fact that men perform
Their tasks far better when their leaders are watching them.
So they stayed outside although they were champions.

In this passage, a clear distinction is made between the function of an army leader, or ἄναξ, on the one hand, and the term ἀριστεύς on the other. Hierarchy in the Homeric epics works on several levels. One such level could be called 'political': important heroes hold leadership over other warriors. Agamemnon is the general commander of the Achaean army, as a *primus inter pares* (Horn 2014, 155). The terms βασιλεύς and ἄναξ could be understood in this respect, βασιλῆες indicating members of the leading class, whereas ἄναξ is an extra title for those highest in command.[71] Hence, whereas ἄναξ is a necessary job,

70 Miguélez-Cavero notes that Quintus stresses the notion of excellence more, providing examples of both ἀριστῆες and ἄριστοι together (2013, 283–284).

71 There is a dynamic hierarchy between βασιλῆες: they receive their power from aristocratic descent and command an entourage of lesser, dependent men (θεράποντες; Horn 2014, 33–41). On the other hand, their power is not taken for granted. They must continually prove themselves worthy of their position. Van Wees interprets the title βασιλεύς as an indication

ἀριστεύς seems to imply a privileged position in the army, probably obtained by the personal excellence of the hero in question: the best of the army are called ἀριστῆες, and those heroes are also expected to enter the Horse. However, the old Nestor and the army chief Agamemnon are required to take charge of the less glorious, yet equally important task of leading the rest of the army to Tenedus, "despite" their status as ἀριστῆες. The fact that both regret missing this opportunity confirms that the selection of the catalogue works in two directions: those most highly esteemed get the honour of entering the Horse, but in turn the Horse will be a great occasion to obtain additional honour. While the other ἀριστῆες, led by Neoptolemus, will enjoy that privilege, Nestor and Agamemnon are literally 'detained' by the army: if they had the choice, they would have joined the other ἀριστῆες in the catalogue and in the Horse. Instead, they must 'sacrifice' an opportunity for greater individual glory for the sake of the greater cause: the ruse as a whole cannot work if the army is not properly led to Tenedus. This passage sketches the old tension between the quest for individual honour and the larger goal of the Trojan War: as long as everyone focuses on himself alone, victory cannot be achieved. Agamemnon and Nestor make the ultimate sacrifice in order to take Troy. Meanwhile, however, it has become clear that, even if the heroes now work together for the ruse, personal gain is still their major consideration. That the Horse will provide great opportunities in that respect is proved by no one better than Sinon.

5.3.2 *To Make a Name*

Sinon is, as Odysseus specified, a person unknown to the Trojans ("τις ἀνὴρ | θαρσαλέος, τόν τ' οὔ τις ἐπίσταται ἐν Τρώεσσι" and "αἰζηῶν δέ τις ἐσθλός, ὅν οὐ σάφα Τρῶες ἴσασι", Odysseus: Q.S. 12.32–33 and 238). Indeed, he has not played any part in the *Posthomerica* so far. What is now offered to him is an opportunity to stand up out of the darkness in which all nameless warriors linger. By volunteering for this job, he starts the process of making himself a name and gaining honour from scratch. Campbell finds it "inherently implausible (…) that an 'unknown' of extraordinary courage can pop up after years of hard fighting" (1981, 84). However, Sinon is a character with a strong tradition of 'popping up'

of rank, rather than of office. As is suggested by Sarpedon (quoted in section 1.2.1), leaders originally received their higher status as a reward for achievements and conquests. Even if such a position became subject to inheritance in later generations, new leaders must still prove themselves (van Wees 1988, 18). Horn calls this the 'patriarchal and patrilinear' hierarchy of Homeric leadership: the need to be worthy of one's father when taking over his position (2014, 41).

unexpectedly: compare, for example, the *Sack of Ilion* and the *Aeneid*, discussed more thoroughly below, where Sinon only appears after the Achaeans have left Troy or even when the Trojans have already found the Horse. It is rather remarkable, then, that the *Posthomerica* allows Sinon explicitly to volunteer for this job beforehand. His first appearance in the assembly was a telling first step in his (brave) characterization. Moreover, his intervention has set the tone for the heroic focus of the ruse in the *Posthomerica*. The way in which Sinon will carry out his task further defines how the tactic of the Horse is appreciated in the *Posthomerica*.

Throughout literary tradition, Sinon is not quite so unknown. Although he is not a Homeric hero, he is mentioned in summaries of the Epic Cycle.[72] Perhaps best known is his substantial role in the second book of the *Aeneid* (2.57–198). As one of the passages that is most closely related—at least in mythological contents—to the *Posthomerica*, the relation between the Vergilian and the Quintian Sinon has repeatedly been the subject of scholarly attention before.[73] Another obvious point of reference is Triphiodorus' depiction of this character.[74] Within this triangle, a direct link between either Quintus and Triphiodorus or Quintus and Vergil cannot be proven. That Triphiodorus knew Vergil, on the other hand, seems more plausible (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 64–70), although the two Sinon passages need not directly enter into dialogue

72 However, not all of these mentions refer to what has in later traditions become his vital contribution (i.e. making sure the Horse is brought within the city walls). Tzetzes (*commentary on Lycophron* 344) summarizes: "Sinon, as arranged, showed the Greeks a torch signal, as Lesches says, when 'it was the middle of the night, and the bright moon was rising.'" In Proclus' summary of the *Ilias Parva*, Sinon is added: "Then they put the leading heroes into the wooden horse. The rest of the Greeks burn their huts and ⟨leaving Sinon behind, who was to light a torch signal for them, in the night⟩ they withdraw to Tenedos" (*Chrestomathia, suppleta ex Apollod. epit.* 5.5) and in his summary of the *Ilioupersis*, he only mentions Sinon for the torch signal ("Sinon holds up his firebrands for the Achaeans, having first entered the city under a pretence"), and not when the Trojans discuss whether they should bring in the Horse or not (ibid. 5.16–25). James summarizes the account of the Trojan Horse in the Epic Cycle (2004, 327). Other sources for Sinon are listed by Vian (1969 T3, 98 n. 7). Campbell sums up his traditional roles (1981, 119). See Miguélez-Cavero for a more recent overview (2013, 241–242).

73 See Keydell (in favour of direct influence: 1963, 1287) and Vian (1969 T3, 78–84, against Keydell in e.g. 73 n. 2 and 103 n. 7); more recently Campbell (against direct comparison: 1981, 117–126), Hadjittofi (in favour: "In fact, the reason why we have here two so very different and partial representations of Sinon […] makes it very likely that Quintus read either in the original or from translation Vergil's Sinon": 2007, 365–366), James (2004, 328; 2007, 150) and Gärtner (2009, 132–133).

74 Comparative studies, also including Vergil, by Gerlaud (1982, 21–27), Vian (1959, 62–64) and Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 241–244).

with one another (ibid. 244). As regards the three representations of Sinon, Quintus considerably deviates from both of the others. Two elements that bind Vergil's Sinon and Triphiodorus' are his rhetorical skill and the fact that the Trojans do not physically mistreat him.[75] Both emphasize the importance of ruse and deception in the role of Sinon:[76] twice, he is accepted as a supplicant and abuses this position to beguile the Trojans. In Vergil, his impressive rhetorical speeches are largely effective in themselves. In Triphiodorus, Sinon also adopts an Odysseus-like fashion and uses self-mutilation to stress his hatred for the Achaeans in two (also immediately) convincing speeches. Triphiodorus' narrator introduces him as follows:

> μοῦνος δὲ πληγῇσιν ἑκούσια γυῖα χαραχθεὶς
> Αἰσιμίδης ἐλέλειπτο Σίνων, ἀπατήλιος ἥρως,
> κρυπτὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι δόλον καὶ πήματα κεύθων.
>
> *Sack of Ilion* 219–221

> Only Sinon remained behind, the son of Aesimus, his limbs voluntarily scarred with stripes, a deceitful hero, concealing a hidden snare (δόλον) and sorrow for the Trojans.

Triphiodorus strongly emphasises the self-mutilation of Sinon, which is an important aspect of his ruse (δόλον, line 221). The hero's pitiable appearance is also extensively described at the beginning of his second appearance, when he is actually found by the Trojans (lines 258–261), and forms the core of the argument which makes Priam accept him (lines 273–277). Simultaneously, he and his words are clearly marked as treacherous (δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον, line 264 and πολυμήχανος ἥρως, line 291; see also Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 245). Quintus' Sinon is also associated with ruse: he is called δολόφρων both at the start of his interrogation (Q.S. 12.364) and at the end of it, as he finally starts his own speech (Q.S. 12.374). However, and in contrast to Vergil and Triphiodorus, the lie Sinon tells in the *Posthomerica* is not notably rhetorical or designed to deceive the Trojans with his own treacherous concoctions. Hadjittofi finds that Sinon's false speech "even contradicts the stereotype of the 'Greek rhetorician'" (2007,

75 In Vergil, the Trojans only bind his hands (e.g. the first line of the Sinon passage: *Aeneid* 2.57).

76 In the *Aeneid*, where the story is told from a Trojan perspective, Aeneas stresses Sinon's trickery nearly every time he introduces or concludes one of the latter's speeches: e.g. "dolos" (*Aeneid* 2.62), "Danaum insidias" (65), "ficto pectore" (107), "dolis" (152), "insidiis periurique arte" (195), and—one more time—"dolis" (196).

368). In fact, the entire design of the plan is different in the *Posthomerica*. During the first preparations, Odysseus clearly outlined what 'the volunteer' needs to tell the Trojans:

> "ὅς τις ὑποκρίναιτο βίην ὑπέροπλον Ἀχαιῶν
> ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ νόστοιο λιλαιομένων ὑπαλύξαι,
> ἵππῳ ὑποπτήξας εὐεργέι τόν ῥ' ἐκάμοντο
> Παλλάδι χωομένῃ Τρώων ὑπὲρ αἰχμητάων·
> καὶ τὰ μὲν ὣς ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἀνειρομένοισι πιφαύσκειν,
> εἰς ὅ κέ οἱ πεπίθωνται ἀταρτηροί περ ἐόντες,
> ἐς δὲ πόλιν μιν ἄγωσι θοῶς ἐλεεινὸν ἐόντα"
>
> Odysseus: Q.S. 12.35–41

> "He must pretend the Achaeans wanted to sacrifice him
> For their return, but that he escaped their brutal violence
> By cowering under the splendid horse that had been made
> To appease the anger that Pallas felt for the spearmen of Troy.
> He must stick to his story as long as they question him,
> Until they are convinced, in spite of their cruelty,
> And hurry him into the city in a pitiful state"

Odysseus himself has decided what kind of lie should convince the Trojans, and he is mainly looking for someone who can stick to that story under interrogation, no matter what (lines 39 ff.): "Odysseus does not want an orator but a brave hero, a martyr if need be" (Campbell 1981, 120). During the second assembly, when Odysseus summarizes the three tasks in the ruse again, the role of the volunteer is more succinctly discussed. He briefly summarizes: "Καί οἱ πάντα μέλοιτο μάλ' ἔμπεδον ὁππόσ' ἔγωγε | πρόσθ' ἐφάμην" ("he must fix his attention very firmly on all that I have said", Q.S. 12.240–241). Hence, he only expects that this man will report a prescribed message, quoted in his earlier speech, to the Trojans. Improvisation does not seem to be desirable, for Odysseus concludes his instructions with: "Καὶ μή τι περὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλο νοήσῃ, | ὄφρα μὴ ἀμφαδὰ Τρωσὶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔργα πέληται" ("admitting no other thought to his mind, so as not to reveal to the Trojans what the Achaeans are doing", Q.S. 12.241–242). After Sinon has told his lie to the Trojans, they debate about whether he is an ἠπεροπῆα πολύτροπον ("a clever deceiver", Q.S. 12.390). These two words are strongly associated with Odysseus. The word ἠπεροπῆα is rare in attested literature (only 40 occurrences according to TLG, about half of which in Nonnus). In Homer, it occurs only when Alcinous stresses that Odysseus is not a liar (*Odyssey* 11.364). Πολύτροπον, on the other hand, is typically associated with Odysseus

in the *Odyssey*. Triphiodorus goes rather far in assimilating Sinon to Odysseus (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 242–245). In the *Posthomerica*, the association between both heroes also exists, but works on another level: whereas Triphiodorus' Sinon is as treacherous as Odysseus (or even more so than Odysseus, since Sinon is entirely in charge of the treachery and lying), Quintus' Sinon makes use of Odysseus' lie by stubbornly holding on to it in perilous circumstances.

When Sinon accepts this task, he immediately mentions the challenges he expects to meet: "I will carry out this deed as you desire, however they misuse me, even if they decide to throw me alive in a fire" (Sinon: Q.S. 12.248–250; Hadjittofi 2007, 368). In fact—and ironically—, this is exactly the kind of treatment that Quintus' Sinon will undergo. Unlike his counterparts in Vergil and Triphiodorus, he is interrogated with increasing violence, and eventually tortured and mutilated by the Trojans (Q.S. 12.362–373). Only after his literal ordeal by fire, Sinon is granted his speech, which he carries out δολοφρονέων (Q.S. 12.374). The other occurrence of δολοφρονέων is found at the beginning of his torture, in line 364. It can be assumed that Sinon talks during the rest of the interrogation as well, but nothing of this is rendered in either direct or indirect speech (Vian 1969 T3, 74). For Quintus' Sinon, δολοφρονέων could best be associated with the plain lie he tells, not with the beguiling nature of this character. He adheres to the story of Odysseus, mentioning the Achaeans' return home (Q.S. 12.375–376 ~ Odysseus in line 36), the wrath of Athena (377–379 ~ 37–38), the intention of sacrificing Sinon (379–382 ~ 35–36) and his escape by seeking sanctuary at the feet of the Horse (382–386 ~ 37) with a minimum of addition or personal interpretation.[77] It is "a plain tale of a prisoner under torture" (Hadjittofi 2007, 369), credible given the circumstances.[78] The Trojans reason that torture will assure them of the truth in Sinon's tale (they ask their questions during the hardest part of the torture: Q.S. 12.367–370), which is what both Odysseus and Sinon himself had anticipated. All the latter must do is persist in his lie while under torture. As discussed above, his courage was underlined from the moment he volunteered. Also during his confrontation with the Trojans, his strength is repeatedly stressed: he remains insensible as a rock (Q.S. 12.364–365), he is strong and endures even the fire (Q.S. 12.370–373), as Hera gives him κάρτος (Q.S. 12.373). His speech is concluded with the following words:

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77 Vian finds this an exceptionally dry account for an Achaean, and also explains it as a summary of what has been said before (1969 T3, 74).

78 Levet analyses expressions "du vrai et de la vérité" in Quintus. During the torture scene, the word νημερτέα is chosen, according to Levet confirming that "c' est effectivement donc sur un réel subjectif, mémorisé par le héros torturé, que porte l' interrogation" (2003, 370).

῝Ως φάτο κερδοσύνῃσι καὶ οὐ κάμεν ἄλγεσι θυμόν·
ἀνδρὸς γὰρ κρατεροῖο κακὴν ὑποτλῆναι ἀνάγκην.
Q.S. 12.387–388

Such were his cunning words, his spirit untamed by pain.
A strong man will endure the evil he cannot avoid.

Hence, physical endurance is the quality that distinguishes Sinon in the *Posthomerica*. This gives Quintus' version a decisively different heroic focus than Vergil's and Triphiodorus'.[79] Such is, according to Gärtner, a unique and original adaptation of the tradition (2009, 133–134). Several interpretations have been proposed. Of course, the focus on endurance as a heroic virtue could be in line with switching moralities in imperial times, and Stoic influence in particular (Maciver 2007, 273 n. 63 and 2012b, 109–110) or a distancing from other traditions about Sinon. Hadjittofi, who has thus far made the most extensive literary interpretation of Quintus' Sinon, finds that this characterization as a brave hero is "a systematic un-doing of the Virgilian version" (2007, 366) and "a case of revisioning, not only Virgil's narrative, but Greek identity itself" (ibid. 369; Jahn makes similar suggestions: 2009, 89–90). That Quintus is not disapproving of Sinon as Vergil is indeed undeniable, and understandable given the different focus of both epics, but need not imply a direct link between these poems. Moreover, her study does not consider Triphiodorus' epyllion, which might shed new light on the literarily polemic interpretation she proposes. Finally, Hadjittofi also assumes a polarity between Sinon's being δολόφρων (which she describes as a "possible moral fault" of Sinon: ibid. 367) and his bravery, which—in my opinion—sketches the *Posthomerica* too much in black-and-white. As a character within the *Posthomerica*, Sinon has been called 'a true hero', or an example of 'epic heroism', in several studies mentioned above, among others Ferrari, although he does not find this characterization quite convincing (1963, 52). Hadjittofi at some point states that in Quintus, Sinon "becomes a real hero", as opposed to Vergil's Sinon (2007, 368). James uses similar wordings: "Virgil emphasizes his cunning as opposed to the Trojans' gullibility, whilst Quintus makes him much more of a hero, remaining firm under barbaric torture inflicted by the Trojans" (2007, 150). Finally, according to Gärtner "neu ist, dass Sinon als ruhmvoller, standhafter Held dargestellt wird"

79 During the Quintus Workshop 2016, on the other hand, Carvounis argued that Quintus' Sinon, like Vergil's, still "pivots around a manipulative Sinon, whose guile is celebrated alongside his bravery." Like Kneebone and Tomasso (discussed above), she stated that this combination is typical of "the sort of heroism that is celebrated in the PH".

(2009, 133). As I have argued in section 4.3.3, 'true heroism' is a rather tendentious expression that can hardly be defined. What all of these scholars indicate, however, is that the deeds of Quintus' Sinon are more in line with the Iliadic ideal of honour and physical strength than Triphiodorus' or Vergil's versions of the character. Honour is indeed an essential part of the Posthomeric Sinon, who mentions as much even in his own motivations. As stated above in section 5.2, Quintus' Sinon commits himself to either gain honour or die (Q.S. 12.251–252), and is applauded for his courage by both the narrator and an Achaean τις (Q.S. 12.253–254). In Vergil, Aeneas phrases Sinon's options differently (Campbell 1981, 87[80] and Hadjittofi 2007, 368):

> "fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus,
> seu versare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti."
>
> Aeneas: *Aeneid* 2.61–62

> "confident in spirit and ready for either event, either to ply his crafty wiles or to meet certain death."

Quintus' Sinon clearly strives for honour, an objective that could be particularly appealing for this man who would otherwise have remained anonymous throughout the Trojan War. In Book 14, Sinon will indeed get his due share:

> Πολλὰ δ' ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ θυμηδέι κυδαίνεσκον
> πάντας ὅσους ὑπέδεκτο σὺν ἔντεσι δούριος ἵππος.
> Θαύμαζον ⟨δὲ⟩ Σίνωνα περικλυτόν, οὕνεχ' ὑπέτλη
> λώβην δυσμενέων πολυκηδέα· καί ῥά ἑ πάντες
> μολπῇ καὶ γεράεσσιν ἀπειρεσίοισι τίεσκον
> αἰέν· ὃ δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἐγήθεε τλήμονι θυμῷ
> νίκῃ ἐπ' Ἀργείων, σφετέρῃ δ' οὐκ ἄχνυτο λώβῃ·
> ἀνέρι γὰρ πινυτῷ καὶ ἐπίφρονι πολλὸν ἄμεινον
> κῦδος καὶ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴδεος ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλλων
> ἐσθλῶν ὁππόσ⟨α τ'⟩ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποισιν.
>
> Q.S. 14.105–114

80 Otherwise, Campbell is fairly categorical, and, founding his argument on an extensive list of differences between Vergil's Sinon and Quintus', he finds that "any confrontation with V.'s Sinon [is] meaningless" (1981, 121–122). Campbell then dedicates several pages to a comparative study of Sinon's lies in both epics (ibid. 123–125), which highlights the differences to the disadvantage of Quintus; unrightfully so, in my opinion, because both Sinon scenes indeed have clearly different focuses, and both Sinons are quite differently characterized, in part by means of these lies.

> During their merry feast they loudly celebrated
> All those who with their weapons had entered the wooden horse.
> They held in wonder far-famed Sinon for having endured
> The grievous torture of the enemy. All of them
> Kept honoring him with song and with an endless flood
> Of gifts. His hardy spirit took pleasure in the Argives'
> Triumph, with no complaint for his own disfigurement.
> By a wise and sensible person glory is greatly
> Preferred to gold or physical beauty or other
> Good things that human beings may own or hope for.

This explicit praise of Sinon is another element that sets Quintus' version apart from the other two. As Carvounis states: "A spy in one camp is a hero in the other" (2005, 138). Obviously, Vergil's Aeneas will not likely praise the man that has caused the doom of his city with his trickery, and Triphiodorus also does not explicitly praise the hero afterwards.[81] The narrator of the *Posthomerica*, on the other hand, pays more attention to the explicit honour that the Achaeans bestow upon Sinon than to the heroes in the Horse. Paradoxically, Quintus' Sinon is better honoured for a performance that was less effective (at least in itself) than those of his counterparts in Vergil and Triphiodorus. In the *Sack of Ilion*, any doubt of the Trojans about the Horse's appearance (voiced rather early, in lines 251–258) is erased immediately after Sinon's second, eloquent speech. His story is generally believed, and the Horse is taken into the city, without so much as a protest by Laocoon (lines 304–307). In the *Posthomerica*, however, the debate begins only after Sinon's interrogation, which has gone completely according to plan (Q.S. 12.389 ff.). Some of the Trojans, instigated by Laocoon, still suspect him to be a liar, and this party is on the verge of winning the discussion when Athena intervenes to punish the Trojan priest (Q.S. 12.395 ff.).[82] Interestingly, the exact opposite happens in Vergil, where the Trojans first deliberate on the Horse (*Aeneid* 2.31 ff.) and then are nearly convinced by Laocoon to destroy it when Sinon intervenes to change their minds (54 ff.). The latter's words are considered credible (195 ff.), and Laocoon's punishment only confirms their resolution to believe Sinon.[83] All in all, Sinon's

81 Neither of these narratives focuses on the Achaean celebration of victory after the Sack whatsoever.

82 Despite Laocoon's own persistence during his 'divine torture' (e.g. Q.S. 12.412–413 and 444–446), this intervention is more than ever a necessary "effet psychologique" (Vian 1969 T3, 76).

83 For a comparative study of the Laocoon passage in Vergil and Quintus, see Bassett (1925b), Gärtner (2009) and Campbell (1981, 133–137).

Posthomeric intervention seems less convincing than the other two, as could perhaps be expected from a plain, ineloquent lie. However, this is never questioned or problematized in the *Posthomerica*. The wished-for result is achieved in the end, and this seems to be all that matters when the praise is given in Book 14. The unknown τις ἐσθλός from Book 12 has secured a place of high honour among the victorious Achaeans, by means of his physical qualities. Hence, *Posthomerica* 14 seems to look back on the events and choices of Book 12 as a confirmation of some 'old school' heroic qualities.[84] This could indeed be the conclusion of a turbulent discussion.

From the beginning of Book 12, it has become clear that resort to a ruse and ambush would be inevitable. Quintus has made the first debate as polemic as possible, highlighting a duality that, if maintained, would have obstructed any further cooperation between the heroes. The second meeting must therefore serve as a reconciliation, and discusses how all heroes—and all heroic convictions—can fit into this controversial plan. From the first volunteer onward, the continued importance of courage became undeniable. Nestor seized upon this idea to bend the idea of the ruse in a way that would attract Neoptolemus. The words κλέος and βίη triggered the latter to become the first and foremost of the catalogue of heroes. The excellent heroes, the ἀριστῆες, could now join forces for one special occasion; most of them did so by entering the Horse, but two others had to let this glorious opportunity pass by: they needed to stay behind with the rest of the army, so the army as a whole could achieve the greatest victory. Hence, the ruse of the Horse puts the old heroic quest for individual honour in a larger perspective, while all the same stressing its continued importance. Sinon could be seen as the embodiment of this: his display of strength and courage leads him to disregard his personal comfort for the greater, cooperative victory, but afterwards, he is personally rewarded with the greatest honour. As such, the change of tactics in Book 12 may very well be not too drastic after all: although the ruse certainly announces a new turn in events, it does not entirely replace the old values (such as were hailed by among others Achilles, and now his son), at least not in the minds of the Achaeans.

In the light of the entire Posthomeric plot, a compromise between the two tactics works better than an opposition, just as in Homer these were not quite as decisively opposed as in later traditions. In this compromise, ruse will never outweigh strength or courage. Unlike Triphiodorus, Quintus has eleven preceding books to take into account. The new decision of his assembled heroes aligns

84 With the term 'old school', I here refer to Achilles and Ajax, and their focus on physical battle rather than ruse or ambush; in short, the focus that Neoptolemus has defended in the assemblies of Book 12.

with their characterizations as they have hitherto been developed on the battlefield. Neoptolemus is a strong example. Meanwhile, Quintus' epic obviously does not cherish the Trojans, as Vergil's does. For the Achaeans, the Sack of Troy (Book 13) proposes a major chance for new glory. The ruse is meant to bring the battle within the city walls, but the Achaeans in *Posthomerica* 12 also seem to strive for a sort of continuity with the rest of the epic: the war goes on.

Now, the war will break new ground. With the same intention, the same thirst for blood and the same lust for honour, the Achaeans leave the battlefield and enter the streets of Troy and the houses of its families. However, as has been stated at the end of section 4.4.3, the war looks quite differently from a Trojan point of view. In Book 13, the Achaean goal and the Trojan fear will finally clash. Instead of the battlefield, the streets of Troy will now be soaked with blood; not with that of warriors, but that of defenceless victims. Honour will be obtained by the shedding of (mostly) innocent blood. This brings about a sharp turn in the focus of the narration in Book 13. Chapter 5 has focused on how the Achaeans prepare for their sack of the city, and how they perceive this battle as one more chance for heroic glory. Chapter 6 investigates how much of that perception can still be found in Book 13, when the Achaeans roam the heart of Troy, seeking their honour with their swords in the night.

CHAPTER 6

Suffering Trojans, Victorious Achaeans

A hero of war, yes that's what I'll be
And when I come home, you'll be damn proud of me[1]

The Sack of Troy initiates a new set of events, new confrontations in a new location. The fact that armed heroes come to face helpless old men, terrified women and suckling children inevitably changes the atmosphere of the narrative. More than for the previous books, approaches to *Posthomerica* 13 have often been guided by a sense of pathos, perhaps unsurprisingly. A most extreme example can be found in Glover's appreciation of Book 13: "Quintus gives us nothing but a string of second-hand horrors, without movement or connexion, neither Greek nor Trojan having any plan of action" (1901, 87). Bloodshed and tears are obviously an important part of this particular part of the epic.[2] However, such a focus also risks being influenced by the (modern) moral judgment of the reader.[3] Hence, there is a difference between the moral judgments of the

1 "A Hero of War"—Rise Against.

2 The impact of such scenes on the general outline of *Posthomerica* 13 only becomes fully clear in a study comparing it to the representation of slaughter earlier in the *Posthomerica*, on the battlefield. For reasons of time and space, I have not been able to look into this aspect of the epic in any depth. The study of victims and bloodshed in the *Posthomerica* has most recently been covered by Kauffman, in a comparative analysis with, *inter alia*, Homer (2015 and forthcoming). However, he deliberately limits his scope to the battlefield books of the *Posthomerica*, exactly because of the changed context of battle in Book 13 (2015, 142 n. 24). Other studies about the depiction of bloodshed in the entire epic include Newbold (non-verbal expressions of pain, such as groans: 1992, 275), Jahn (fear and flight on the battlefield; the narrative focus on Trojan and Achaean wounds: 2009, 94–95), Comballack (general impressions about hyperbolism in expressions of pain and grief in the *Posthomerica*: 1986, 16) and Maciver (idem: 2012b, 13–14). Similes are a particular topic of interest: besides Kauffman also Spinoula (the focus on similes of battle victims, both individual and en masse: 2008) and Scheijnen ('death similes' in their linear appearance throughout the *Posthomerica*, including books 13 and 14: 2017). A more detailed comparison of the representation of slaughter in all its facets has, to my knowledge, not yet been conducted for Books 13 and 14.

3 Kauffman warns of this with regard to the interpretation of Quintus' slaughter similes (forth-

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reader and text-internal indications of partiality by the narrator and/or characters. The latter forms one of the foci of this chapter. In itself, text-internal partiality is not alien to narrations of the Sack of Troy (e.g. Jahn 2009 for Quintus). For example, the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid* is obviously written from a Trojan perspective, and Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion* goes to some length to underline the cruelty of the Sack (see below). Quintus' version, however, provides a more ambivalent view of the facts.[4] In the following, I mainly trace the representation of the Achaean side—most prominently a few specific case studies of individual heroes—throughout Book 13. Though they shed much blood, they have also entered the Trojan Horse with a clearly heroic objective, as has been discussed in Chapter 5. Their encounters with new victims opens the ground for new discussions about their motivation and deeds. However, their 'heroic' perspective could also bring nuance to the cruelty of slaughter. Quintus presents a complex interplay of perspectives and representations in which pathos and this heroic legitimation need not necessarily exclude each other.

The structure of Book 13 is rather episodic. Vian proposes a division into five parts. First, there are the 'préliminaires' describing the Trojan feast and the emergence of the Achaeans (Q.S. 13.1–77). This introduction is followed by four larger movements: an alternation between a 'tableau général' of the carnage and a list of (seven in the first instance and then three) individual episodes (Vian 1969 T3, 115–116). Vian concludes his discussion of Book 13 with a rather disappointed remark on this succession of "des morceaux de faible étendue librement reliés ensemble" (T3 1969, 127). Simultaneously, however, he acknowledges that nothing more is needed to obtain a certain narrative effect: "Du moins Quintus est-il parvenu à peindre une fresque qui n'est pas dénuée de grandeur en insérant les épisodes traditionnels dans une vaste composition où les drames vécus par la foule anonyme des Troyens sont évoqués avec un réalisme parfois saisissant" (ibid.). Famous Achaeans and Trojans appear only in the short episodes allotted to each. Hence, individual experiences of the Sack are invariably concentrated in rather brief passages that could easily be stud-

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coming). Boyten's study on the episode of Priam and Neoptolemus is—in my opinion—prone to a certain degree of moral partiality (2007 and 2010; for a critical discussion of his conclusions, see footnote 67).

4 Vergil's version has often been contrasted to Quintus': e.g. Vian (1969 T3, 119–122), Hadjittofi (2007, 362–365) and James (2007, 150). Duckworth has also noted that Quintus' view of the Trojans is not quite as positive as Vergil's (1936, 78–79). Gärtner speaks of the obvious "formende Hand Vergils" in the composition of Priam's murder as the symbolic climax of the Sack in the *The Aeneid* (2005, 236–241).

ied in isolation.[5] In an attempt to look beyond this episodic structure, I use a slightly different subdivision than Vian. In section 6.1, I mainly focus on the first 150 verses, contrasting the Trojan festivities to the ominous representation of the Achaeans at the start of their carnage. Section 6.2 approaches the first three individual episodes (roughly lines 168–290) as a triptych in which three victims face the conqueror. The cases of Priam, Andromache and Astyanax also reflect the Trojan perception of the Sack, and provide clues about how to appreciate the confrontation of conqueror and conquered. In the final section, the reunion of Menelaus and Helen (as the sixth individual episode) serves as a starting point to reconstruct what Quintus achieves with his narrative of the Sack, regarding the reasons and justification for the Sack from not only an Achaean, but also a more overarching point of view. This issue is latent throughout (again roughly) the second half of *Posthomerica* 13.

6.1 Terror in the Streets

With the double punishment of Laocoon (Q.S. 12.389 ff.), an unseen series of bad omens when the Horse is pulled into the city (499 ff.) and finally the tragically failed intervention of Cassandra (525 ff.), the impending doom of the Trojans clearly overshadows the last part of *Posthomerica* 12 and the start of their festivities. Cassandra, for example, is clearly represented as someone who should be trusted. The narrator introduces her as οἴη δ' ἔμπεδον ἦτορ ἔχεν πινυτόν τε νόημα ("One heart alone was constant, one mind was lucid", Q.S. 12.525) and even assumes that the reason for her curse never to be believed is "so that the Trojans could suffer" (Q.S. 12.527–528). Her own focalization (she intends to unveil the λόχον στονόεντα, Q.S. 12.572) and that of the Achaeans in the Horse

5 This is also reflected in other recent studies, which mostly have a rather selective focus when Book 13 taking into account. Boyten's study on the Priam episode has been mentioned in footnote 3. Schubert treats the rescue of Aethre (2007, 347–352) and Hadjittofi discusses Electra in Quintus and Nonnus (2007, 370–374). Duckworth (1936, 70–71 and 75–79) and Schmitz (2005, 122–123 and 2007) obviously discuss Book 13 as the realization of the (load of) prophecies about the fall of Troy. Otherwise, the flight of Aeneas has especially been of interest for those who study Quintus' relationship to Roman culture and literature (e.g. Hadjittofi 2007, 361–365, Tomasso 2010, 144–155 and most recently Ozbek forthcoming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*). Gärtner makes the most encompassing study of Book 13 in this respect (2005, 227–260). For a study of the Sack in Triphiodorus and Quintus, see Tomasso 2012. Only recently, Book 13 seems to become the subject of more encompassing studies: Avlamis (forthcoming) focuses on the intertextuality of the 'cityscape' in Book 13, and Stephan Renker is currently preparing a commentary on Book 13 for his PhD project.

later on confirm that she has the right of it and understands the μῆτιν Ἀχαιῶν (Q.S. 12.579). Indeed, she explicitly points out the—otherwise remarkable—sequence of omens,[6] to no avail: "Round us the city is filled with fire and blood and a doom that is horrible. Everywhere marvels that should make us weep are shown by the gods" (Cassandra: Q.S. 12.540–543). In the same speech, she is quite aware of her tragic condition: "However, you won't believe me, no matter what I say" (Cassandra: Q.S. 12.546–547). The Trojan τις replies exactly as anticipated: compare his "γλῶσσα κακοφραδίῃ τ' ἀνεμώλια πάντ' ἀγορεύειν" ("Your raving tongue makes everything you say as empty as air", Q.S. 12.554) to the narrator's introduction of Cassandra: ἀκούετο δ' ἔκ τινος αἴσης | ὡς ἀνεμώλιον αἰέν ("to her hearers, through some fate, it always seemed empty", Q.S. 12.527–528). At the end of Book 12, then, the Trojans seem to be totally off track, and unaware of an obvious and terrible reality. This contrast of a sinister apprehension of (impending) doom and the Trojans' tragic[7] inability to anticipate (or face) it remains tangible at the beginning of Book 13.

6.1.1 *The Risks of a Hangover*

The most immediate reason for the Achaean success is also anticipated—and initiated—at the end of Book 12: the exuberant banquet of the Trojans. In their preparations, they ignore all omens: "The Fates had robbed them all of sense, so that after the banquet (ἐπὶ δαιτί) they might meet their doom of death at the hands of the Argives" (Q.S. 12.523–524). Despite Cassandra's explicit warning ("δαίνυσθ' ὕστατα δόρπα κακῷ πεφορυγμένα λύθρῳ" or "This banquet, fouled as it is with gore, is the last that you will enjoy", Cassandra: Q.S. 12.550), they "prepared that fatal feast (δαῖτα λυγρήν), for their final night would shortly begin" (Q.S. 12.574–575). The Achaeans, in turn, "are happy to hear the noise of feasting (δαινυμένων) in Ilion in disregard of Cassandra" (Q.S. 12.576–578). The final

6 As the Trojans make a sacrifice to mark an official end to the war, it will not burn, but causes bloody smoke, a trembling of the earth and even the collapse of the altars (Q.S. 12.500–507). What follows is a quick succession of other signs, "unnumbered other portents (…), presaging ruin of Dardanus' people and city" (Q.S. 12.519–520), including weeping statues of the gods (Q.S. 12.507–508), an automatic opening of the gates (Q.S. 12.511–512) and the howling of wolves and jackals within the city walls (Q.S. 12.518–519). James notes that the succession of fifteen "sinister portents" has no precedents in Greek literature (2004, 332–333). Laura Miguélez-Cavero has recently suggested to me that this catalogue recalls rhetorical narratives about the fall of a city in general. For this notion of more general '*poleôs persis*' instead of an *Ilioupersis* in Triphiodorus, see Gerlaud (1982, 14–15). The cityscape of *Posthomerica* 13 is considered from a similar perspective by Avlamis (forthcoming).

7 Despite the increasingly tragic undertone and possible relevance of tragic source material in the final books of the *Posthomerica*, I am unable, within the limits of this study, to take this into account in more depth (for further references to other studies, see Chapter 7).

words of Book 12 leave no room for doubt: μάλα γὰρ μέγα δέχνυτο πῆμα ("the great disaster that she foresaw", Q.S. 12.585). Unsurprisingly, then, the doomed banquet is the first event of Book 13. Lines 1–22 contain, if not the longest, then certainly the liveliest description of a feast in the *Posthomerica*: there is music, song and dance, along with food and so much wine that the Trojans get excessively drunk. Their exuberance is expressed in the music of αὐλοί ὁμῶς σύριγξι ("oboes and panpipes", Q.S. 13.2). Earlier in the *Posthomerica*, these instruments were only used during the welcome of Eurypylus (Q.S. 6.170, 171, 174 and 175).[8] Μολπή ('song') and ὀρχηθμός ('dance') did not even occur there.[9] Entirely new is the extensive list of symptoms describing the Trojans' drunkenness, which includes troubled minds, spinning rooms and drunken talk (Q.S. 13.9–14). All in all, this is an accurate rendering of the physical symptoms of drunkenness, which is in line with several other medical descriptions in the *Posthomerica* (see Ozbek 2007). Words like κολούω (ἔπος κεκολουμένα βάζων or "a babble of broken words", Q.S. 13.8) and ἀμφιπεριστρωφᾶσθαι (ἀνὰ πτόλιν: "the whole city was spinning round", Q.S. 13.11) are Quintian *hapax legomena*. Καρηβαρέων is also associated mainly with Book 13, now for a Trojan τις who gives a drunken speech (line 14), and later on for Deiphobus as he is killed (line 355, see also section 6.3).[10] A drunken τις is called νήπιος (Q.S. 13.20) for being unaware of the ἐπὶ προθύροισιν Ὄλεθρον ("destruction at their doors", Q.S. 13.20). With these words, the narrator seems to echo Cassandra's warning "ἐν ποσὶ κείμεθ' Ὀλέθρου" (Cassandra: Q.S. 12.543; Vian 1969 T3, 129 n. 1). Hence, the global description of this final banquet confirms the ominous feeling that has lain over the same feast since Book 12. The earlier banquets of the Trojans in the *Posthomerica* have also always turned out to be too optimistic.[11] The dramatic irony of this last even is

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8 I leave out the mention of feasts that have not actually taken place within the span of the *Posthomerica*, such as the feast depicted on the shield of Achilles (Q.S. 5.66 ff.) and several recollections of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

9 However, song and dance have been associated with Orpheus (Q.S. 3.638), the Muses (Q.S. 4.141) and the Graces (Q.S. 4.140) elsewhere in the epic.

10 Shorrock links this "rare account of drunkenness in Quintus' epic" to Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (2007, 385). For Triphiodorus' brief but ominous description of the Trojan inebriation (*Sack of Ilion* 448–453), see Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 360–364).

11 The words δαίς and δαίνυμι have a rather general use in the *Posthomerica*, ranging from normal meals (often associated with mourning: Q.S. 4.70, 5.660, 7.62) to great feasts (e.g. the marriage of Peleus and Thetis: Q.S. 3.101, 4.53 and 134, 5.76). Tracking their occurrences (39 for the verb and the noun together) throughout the epic gives a clear overview of the contradiction between Trojan and Achaean celebrations: the Trojans' hope proves false after the banquets for Penthesilea (Q.S. 1.90 and 120), Memnon (Q.S. 2.148, 150 and 159) and the most joyful feast for Eurypylus (Q.S. 6.167, 169, 175 and 181). The climax follows after the celebration around the Horse (Q.S. 12.523, 550, 575 and 577; twice in 13.4), with

double: not only are the Trojans—again—ignorant of their unfestive future, the banquet will now even contribute to the doom of Troy: its inhabitants get so drunk that they will not be able to offer resistance when the carnage begins.[12]

The fatal impact of the exuberant feast also resonates in the first general 'tableau' of the Sack (Q.S. 13.78–167).[13] Two similes describing the slaughter grimly look back to the tragic festivities of the Trojans. One is a variation on an earlier image in the *Posthomerica*, in which predators (previously lions, now wolves and jackals) attack sheep (Q.S. 13.133–142). A few significant changes adapt the earlier image to the new context during the Sack.[14] First, the substitution of lions with wolves and jackals is remarkable. It is not the first time that both predators occur alongside one another,[15] but their most recent mention before Book 13 seems to directly relate to this simile: in Book 12, the howling of both wolves and jackals within the city walls was mentioned as one of the last bad omens that the Trojans ignored while receiving the Horse within the city walls (Q.S. 12.518–519). Now, the wolves and jackals have started their offensive. Another remarkable detail added to the simile mentions that, by destroying the entire flock, the wolves and jackals leave behind "a sorry feast for the wretched herdsman" (*κακὴν δ' ἄρα δαῖτα λυγρῷ τεύχουσι νομῆι*, line 140). The mention of a

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resonances during the carnage (Q.S. 13.140, 384: see also below). Achaeans, on the other hand, usually have better reason to feast: Neoptolemus welcomes the embassy with a banquet (Q.S. 7.238), and there are celebrations for his victory over Eurypylus (Q.S. 8.493) and the arrival of Philoctetes (Q.S. 9.432, 515 and 533). They will also feast after the Sack (Q.S. 14.141 and 143) and the sacrifice of Polyxena (Q.S. 14.331). For the sour outcome of these last victorious celebrations of the Achaeans, however, see Chapter 7.

12 James aptly calls this "the metaphorical blinding of the Trojans to their approaching doom, which (...) actually includes impairment of their eyesight by an excess of wine" (2007, 156).

13 Avlamis has suggested that "inebriation and symposium become the defining mode of both Quintus' description and of the way in which the text calls for its own reading" (forthcoming). As the narrative proceeds, drinking and festivities will not only resound with similes, but also with confusing and sudden switches of perspective and of scene, as if the reader perceived the Sack through the drunken and confused Trojans.

14 Vian suggests the parallel of the Book 13 image to Q.S. 1.524–528, where Achilles and Ajax are depicted as two lions killing a mass of sheep in absence of the herdsman (1969 T3, 134 n. 1). Details like the drinking of blood (compare Q.S. 1.526 to 13.139) and the filling of their bellies (*ἐμπλήσωνται ἑὴν πολυχανδέα νηδύν*, Q.S. 1.527 and *νηδύα πλησάμενοι πολυχανδέα*, Q.S. 13.138) indeed correspond, and the tertium comparationis twice involves mass slaughter. Regarding the adjective *πολυχανδής*, Bär notes that it is repeatedly associated with the Wooden Horse as the "Mutter des Unheils" as well. This connotation is certainly strengthened by the recurrence of the same word in one of the wolf similes during the Sack (2007, 57–58).

15 On the substitution of lions with wolves in Book 13, see section 6.1.2. The jackal comparans is discussed in footnote 29.

δαίς in a simile is exceptional in the *Posthomerica*.[16] In the context of the Sack, however, it seems a plausible addition to stress the fatal outcome of the feast. The same idea recurs twice in quick succession. The simile that directly precedes the one of wolves and jackals is even clearer in its meaning:

> Οἳ δ' ὥς τ' ἀφνειοῖο σύες κατὰ δώματ' ἄνακτος
> εἰλαπίνην λαοῖσιν ἀπείριτον ἐντύνοντος
> μυρίοι ἐκτείνοντο, λυγρῷ δ' ἀνεμίσγετο λύθρῳ
> οἶνος ἔτ' ἐν κρητῆρσι λελειμμένος. (…)
>
> Q.S. 13.127–130

> Just like pigs in the palace of a wealthy prince
> When he prepares an abundant banquet for his people,
> They were killed in thousands and with their grisly gore was mingled
> The wine that was left in the mixing bowls.

Countless pigs are slaughtered for a princely feast (εἰλαπίνην). The word εἰλαπίνη is even less frequent in the *Posthomerica* than δαίς, and occurs only this once in Book 13.[17] The ironic undertone in this image is obvious: because of their celebration, the Trojans are now subjected to slaughter themselves. The causal relationship of the banquet to the slaughter is expressed rather sinisterly: blood is mingled with leftovers of the wine. The feast has truly become their doom.[18]

Although this image clearly focuses on the victims, the pig slaughter also contains a rather ironical intertextual reference that relates to the Achaean attackers. In the Underworld, Homer's Odysseus encountered Agamemnon's spirit, who talks about his own lamentable death and that of his companions (Vian 1969 T3, 133 n. 6 and James 2004, 335):

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16 The only precedent is Q.S. 5.494, for the lambs that are taken away from the sheep (the Achaeans grieving for Ajax) to serve as a meal.

17 Throughout the epic, the word is found ten times. Apart from this one occurrence in Book 13, Cassandra also warns for the "εἰλαπίνῃ δ' ἀλεγεινῇ" (Cassandra: Q.S. 12.549). In Book 14, the Achaeans will have cause to celebrate with an εἰλαπίνη (Q.S. 14.105 and 336). Triphiodorus also uses it once, in his description of the Trojan's banquet (*Sack of Ilion* 448).

18 Spinoula notes that the irony extends beyond this passage as well: e.g. one of the improvised weapons of the Trojans is the σπλάγχα συῶν (line 149). Avlamis has also pointed out these connections (forthcoming). Moreover, this simile can again be related to the other banquets that the Trojans have celebrated earlier in the *Posthomerica*, all of them in vain (Spinoula 2008, 216–217).

“ἀλλά μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε
ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένῃ ἀλόχῳ οἶκόνδε καλέσσας,
δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.
ὣς θάνον οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ· περὶ δ’ ἄλλοι ἑταῖροι
νωλεμέως κτείνοντο σύες ὣς ἀργιόδοντες,
οἵ ῥά τ’ ἐν ἀφνειοῦ ἀνδρὸς μέγα δυναμένοιο
ἢ γάμῳ ἢ ἐράνῳ ἢ εἰλαπίνῃ τεθαλυίῃ.
ἤδη μὲν πολέων φόνῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησας,
μουνὰξ κτεινομένων καὶ ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ·
ἀλλά κε κεῖνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ὀλοφύραο θυμῷ,
ὡς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας
κείμεθ’ ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, δάπεδον δ’ ἅπαν αἵματι θῦεν.”

Odyssey 11.409–420

“But Aegisthus brought upon me death and fate, and slew me with the aid of my accursed wife, when he had bidden me to his house and made me a feast, just as one slays an ox at the crib. So I died by a most pitiful death, and round about me the rest of my comrades were slain relentlessly like white-tusked swine, which are slaughtered in the house of a rich and powerful man at a marriage feast, or a joint meal, or a gay drinking bout. Before now you have been present at the slaying of many men, killed in single combat or in the press of the fight, but in heart you would have felt most pity had you seen that sight, how about the mixing bowl and the laden tables we lay in the hall, and the floor all swam with blood.”

Agamemnon explained the cowardly murder plot of which he became the victim in relation to a battlefield situation, and expressed a clear dislike of his own way of dying. For example, he compared his own death to that of a cow, a more common image that can also be used for warrior deaths on the battlefield.[19] Specific to this comparison, however, is its setting at the crib, which stresses the domestic context of the murder.[20] Immediately afterwards, Agamemnon described how his comrades were also slaughtered, like swine for a banquet. The parallel with the reworked image of *Posthomerica* 13 is clear both in the general outline of the image and in details such as the recurrence of the word

19 E.g. *Iliad* 17.61–69 (for Euphorbus), *Iliad* 17.520–524 (for Aretus) and *Odyssey* 22.402–406 (during the massacre of the suitors).

20 The image of a cow at the crib is typically used for Agamemnon’s murder in the *Odyssey*. The comparison of 11.411 is a literal repetition of Menelaus’ tale in *Odyssey* 4.535: “Δειπνίσσας, ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ”.

εἰλαπίνῃ (*Odyssey* 11.415) and a reference to craters (line 419). A curious difference between both images can be found in the comparandum: Quintus' version refers to the Trojans in general as victims of a massive slaughter, whereas Homer used the image for Agamemnon, the chief of the Achaean army that now causes the Trojan massacre. Most intriguingly, Agamemnon himself suggested how Odysseus, and hence the reader, should appreciate his death: no matter how many battle victims he had seen, he should still find this murder most lamentable. The reason is logical: being killed at home and unawares is no honourable way of dying for a battlefield hero. The same feeling could be transposed to the situation of Book 13, where the Trojans are slaughtered at home, and unawares. The inversion of roles gives the entire picture an ironic undertone: Agamemnon laments his own fate in the *Odyssey*, but he also inflicts the same kind of death on thousands of others. In this way, the image may imply a sour judgment of the Achaean behaviour during the Sack. On the other hand, however, Quintus' representation of the Sack is a means for Agamemnon (and his fellow Achaeans) to obtain the glory he missed at his death, such as it is described in the *Odyssey*. Moreover, the Posthomeric image refers to the banquet and wine with a tragic undertone: the Trojans have caused their own fatal hangover in their ignorance. Hence, this image could be looked at from both sides: the bloody slaughter is a heroic goal for the Achaeans, and despite the intrinsic sadness of what happens, the Trojans seem to be caught—or have trapped themselves—in an inescapable net of doom.[21] I will now investigate this ambivalence in the specific representation of both sides in a series of similes illustrating the first general 'tableau' of the slaughter.

6.1.2 *Hungry Wolves*

No sooner have the Trojans gone to sleep than Sinon reappears to alert the fleet and the heroes in the Horse. This episode is marked by great caution from the Achaeans. While he lights the torch signal, Sinon is concerned "in case it should be seen by strong-armed Trojans and all should be at once revealed" (Q.S. 13.25–26). At the Horse, he calls out ἦκα (…) | ἦκα μάλ', ὡς μή πού τις ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι πύθηται

21 In her introduction to the *Sack of Ilion*, Miguélez-Cavero points out that both Trojans and Achaeans have consistent character traits as groups: "The behaviour of both sides in the nyktomachy (506–691), is the natural consequence of their previous characterisation. The Achaeans are so effective in the deployment of their strategy that they engage in massacre (…) turning into berserkers who ignore the most sacred laws (…). The Trojans are defeated as a result of the slackness that has characterised them from the beginning of the poem: they are incapable of executing a plan of defence" (2013, 17–23; 21 for the citation). Although Quintus' focus is not exactly the same, both poems seem to construct a sense of ambivalence in their narratives of the Sack. This is elaborated for Quintus below.

("softly, very softly, so that none of the Trojans should hear him", Q.S. 13.30–31). Odysseus equally orders his comrades to descend ἦκα καὶ ἀτρεμέως (Q.S. 13.36) and, as they become too eager, restrains them (Q.S. 13.38–39). This extreme caution is opposed to the condition of the Trojans who, after the drinking, are reduced to an intoxicated slumber. In lines 27–29, οἳ μὲν are soundly asleep πολλῷ ὑπ' ἀκρήτῳ βεβαρηότες ("weighed down by much strong wine"), while οἳ δ' (the Achaeans) perceive the signal and set sail to Troy. In 32–33, the Achaeans in the Horse are very much awake and desire to start fighting, but remain careful not to disturb the sleeping city too soon. The contrast established between the drunken Trojans and the alert Achaeans is once more enhanced. Together, this is a recipe for disaster.

Odysseus is the first one to peer out of the Horse and check if the coast is clear. Again, caution is his guide: "Raising his head a little above the planks, he peered all round to see if any Trojan was awake" (Q.S. 13.42–43). This scene is illustrated with a simile:

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀργαλέῃ λιμῷ βεβολημένος ἦτορ
ἐξ ὀρέων ἔλθῃσι λύκος χατέων μάλ' ἐδωδῆς
ποίμνης πρὸς σταθμὸν εὐρύν, ἀλευόμενος δ' ἄρα φῶτας
καὶ κύνας, οἵ ῥά τε μῆλα φυλασσέμεναι μεμάασι,
βαίνει ποσσὶν ἕκηλος ὑπὲρ ποιμνήιον ἕρκος·
ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς ἵπποιο κατήιεν. (…)
Q.S. 13.44–49

As when it feels the pangs of grievous hunger,
A wolf comes down from the hills in urgent need of food
Straight for a spacious sheepfold, steering clear of men
And dogs whose purpose is to guard the flock,
And crosses the fence of the fold with feet unhindered;
Like that Odysseus came down from the horse.

Odysseus is compared to a hungry wolf approaching a sheepfold where he will satisfy his appetite. In itself, this image clearly outlines the expected roles of the carnage in the comparandum: the Trojans will be slaughtered like helpless sheep. Odysseus, on the other hand, is the wolf. This latter choice is rather remarkable. As has been noted by Spinoula, there are only two wolf similes before Book 13 in the *Posthomerica*.[22] The first one depicts the Achaeans

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22 Wolves are also mentioned in a third simile, namely that of the eagle and vultures (Q.S.

strongly resisting Eurypylus' force. They are compared to wolves or jackals, "those shameless ravagers of flocks", who are attacked by herdsmen and dogs in their own lairs (Q.S. 7.504–511). The second one portrays the Trojans as dogs, encouraged by men (in this case an exhortation of Helenus) to stand and face a wolf, namely the Argives (Q.S. 8.268–272). These similes propose a setting and situation similar to that of Odysseus in Book 13: the Achaeans are wolves (or jackals), their own lair is located at the ships and—by extension—the stables may well represent Troy itself. In the two cases before Book 13, moreover, the hunters or herdsmen (and dogs) refer to Trojans, more specifically the resisting Trojans. Like the herdsmen, they stand between danger and the home that they ought to protect. In these similes, the sheep may then represent the more defenceless victims, namely the other inhabitants of Troy.[23] The simile in Book 13 maintains these three roles, but in a decisively altered situation: as Odysseus emerges from the Horse, the wolf no longer meets resistance from the protectors. He is able to infiltrate the fold and has unhindered access to the sheep within. Similarly, the Trojans have let their guard down and will be destroyed for it. Hence, this new simile resumes a motif developed in two earlier wolf images and adapts it to the new, defenceless situation of the Trojans in Book 13. Moreover, the fact that the (rather rare) comparans of the wolf recurs at the beginning of the Sack may be significant in itself. Thus far in the epic, sheep have more often faced lions, who also represented

3.353–356). The latter are chased away from the carcasses of the herd animals (πώεα, line 355) previously killed by wolves. Spinoula provides an overview of all wolf instances in the *Posthomerica* (2008, 57–58).

23 This does not prevent, in other similes, sheep sometimes serving directly as the comparans of warriors as well. The sheep are most often Trojans (before Book 13: Q.S. 1.175–178, 277–278 and 524–528; Q.S. 2.330–337; Q.S. 3.181–185, 369 and 497; Q.S. 8.371). There are four exceptions. The comparandum of the sheep shifts to the Achaeans during Ajax's madness in Book 5: the hero attacks them like a lion (Q.S. 5.406–409), but after his death, the Achaeans grieve for him as sheep for their lambs (Q.S. 5.493–498). When the Achaeans encounter the formidable Eurypylus in Book 6, they are driven back like sheep as well (Q.S. 6.606). Later, in Books 8 and now 13, the tide turns, and the Trojans take over the role of attacked sheep again (Q.S. 8.371, 13.68–71 and 133–142). No sheep occur in Book 14. If a herdsman and/or dog is mentioned before Book 13, it indeed refers to the leading champion of the 'sheep'. This position is (implicitly) for Penthesilea in Q.S. 1.175–178 and 1.524–528 and explicitly for Memnon in Q.S. 2.330–337. Besides that, the herdsman sometimes represents the opposing party, rather than the protector. This happens twice before Book 13: Ajax chases the Trojans back into the city like a herdsman does his flock (Q.S. 3.369) as do the Achaeans in general in a similar situation (Q.S. 8.371). Ironically, the Trojans are temporarily saved by this flight back to the city.

(mostly) the Achaeans.[24] The switch from lion to wolf as the Achaean comparans at the beginning of Book 13 may be significant. Intriguingly, both Vergil and Triphiodorus also associate the image of roaming wolves with the Sack of Troy (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 441). Moreover, Miguélez-Cavero notes that in the *Sack of Ilion*, "the Achaeans are systematically compared with potentially aggressive animals (…), and the Trojans with the weak ones" (2013, 22–23). Vergil applies the image to Aeneas' hastily assembled men (*Aeneid* 2.355–360), Triphiodorus to Menelaus and Odysseus during their assault on Deiphobus' house (*Sack of Ilion*, 615–619). The latter image is closest to Quintus' in setting: the Achaeans (Odysseus, for one) are wolves, and the Trojans unguarded sheep. However, Triphiodorus' heroes do meet with resistance in the comparandum, which indicates a less assimilated tertium comparationis than in *Posthomerica* 13. Even if a direct line cannot always be drawn between the Achaeans and the wolves, it is clear that the wolf is indicative of the atmosphere of the Sack in these three cases.[25] Whether this implies a moral judgment of the scene at hand, however, is difficult to say, especially because Vergil and Triphiodorus apply the comparans to opposing parties. Spinoula seems to interpret Quintus' use of the wolf in Book 13 as a marker of degraded heroism. She applies an extensive study of the image of the lone wolf to Odysseus' case at the beginning of Book 13, stressing the treacherous connotation it has had since Homer's *Dolonia*. Hence, Quintus' simile could appeal to a moral judgment of the reader against the δόλος as a means to take Troy (2008, 61–75). Generally, she links the lower frequency of lion comparantia in the second half of the *Posthomerica* to the assumed "unheroic nature of the war at that stage; the stealthy invaders will not be thought of as heroic lions" (ibid. 26). It is indeed true that, unlike other great Achaean heroes, Odysseus has never been compared to a lion in the *Posthomerica* before. Ajax has even scorned him as a dog facing a lion in

24 Before *Posthomerica* 13, sheep have faced a lion six times, five in Books 1 to 5. The comparanda of these lions are the Achaeans Meges (Q.S. 1.277–278), Achilles and Ajax (Q.S. 1.524–528), the old Nestor (Q.S. 2.330–337), Achilles, while still alive (Q.S. 3.497) and Ajax (Q.S. 5.406.409); only once the Trojans (Q.S. 11.163). Once, the enemy is a θήρ. This comparans refers to the dead Achilles (Q.S. 3.181–185). All in all, then, the predator is most often Achaean (see also the figures of Spinoula 2008, 24–26).

25 However, the wolf need not replace the lion to evoke such a tonality: Triphiodorus starts his description of the carnage with a comparans of maddened lions for the Achaeans (μεμηνότες λέοντες: *Sack of Ilion*, 545). This focus on μανία unmistakably qualifies Triphiodorus' conquerors at the beginning of their sack. Quintus mentions such a rage in one of the later wolf similes in Book 13, discussed below. This example shows that no comparans needs to be exclusive in its meaning: Triphiodorus' warriors can still be compared to lions during the Sack … and so will Quintus', for that matter (see below in this section).

the judgment of arms (Q.S. 5.187–188). However, his appearance as a wolf at the beginning of Book 13 need not necessarily imply moral judgment. As the inventor of the Horse, it could be argued that Odysseus has now reached his most important accomplishment in the epic, and that wolves are better placed to illustrate the new situation of the Sack, which is essentially accomplished by a combination of force and ruse.[26] In any case, the image of an approaching wolf perfectly fits into the sinister atmosphere in which Quintus' warriors cautiously leave the Horse. If anything, a sense of spine-chilling threat is evoked, and this feeling remains indicative for the first scenes of bloodshed. As the other Achaeans stream into the city and start the carnage, the wolf comparans recurs several times, along with other images clearly related to it. This sequence of six similes (Odysseus' wolf simile included) and comparisons extends to line 266. Thus, it forms a thread throughout the first 'tableau' of the slaughter and into the heart of Book 13, where the individual cases begin. A clear continuity can be detected in this series of images, which globally presents the Achaeans as raging predators and the Trojans as a helpless flock. This sequence comprises a substantial part of the total number of (only) fifteen similes and two comparisons in *Posthomerica* 13.

Less than thirty verses after the first wolf simile, a pair of images occurs that clearly can be associated with the same picture. In immediate succession, they both illustrate how the Achaean army storms towards the city, eager to start the attack. The first comparans depicts them as sheep racing towards their fold for the night (Q.S. 13.68–71). Then follows an only partially transmitted simile starting with the words οἳ δ' ὥς τ' ἀργαλέῃ λιμῷ ("just as with ravishing hunger …", line 72). An animal whose nature is probably described in two partially missing lines wildly falls upon the stable while the herdsman is asleep (lines 73–75). After line 75, several verses are lost, but the (presumed) end of this simile is also the start of the actual carnage in Troy: (…) αἵματι καὶ νεκύεσσιν· ὀρώρει δ' αἰνὸς ὄλεθρος | καί περ ἔτι πλεόνων Δαναῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἐόντων ("with blood and corpses. A fearful massacre had begun, even though most of the Danaan forces were still outside", Q.S. 13.76–77). For reasons of parallelism, Vian assumes that in the lost verses, wolves are mentioned as the attacking predators (1969 T3, 131).[27] In any case, the second image of the pair

26 In my Chapter 5, I have argued against the negative appreciation of ruse in Quintus' heroic framework. The rest of Chapter 6 aims to bring nuance to the polarized image of Spinoula's 'heroic' and 'unheroic' ways of warfare in the *Posthomerica*.

27 Gärtner follows Vian in suggesting a translation as "wolves" for the lacuna in the text (2010, 163). Zimmerman's edition, followed by Way, goes further and actually adds λύκοι as a conjecture to the Greek text (1913, 532). Pompella, however, follows Tychsen and would rather

can clearly be related to the earlier wolf simile of Odysseus: some flock will be the prey of some predator, whose motive is hunger (λίμος: Q.S. 13.44 and 72), and the setting is again a sheepfold (σταθμός: Q.S. 13.46 and 73). In the first image of the pair, that stable belonged to μῆλα. It may appear puzzling that the comparandum for these sheep is—for the only time in Book 13—the Achaeans.[28] However, the quick succession of the pair also invites a kind of association: in the first image, the sheep are storming towards the fold. In the second image, hungry predators have nearly reached it, with destruction in mind. In their juxtaposition, the two images could obtain one visual effect, namely that of the predators in pursuit of sheep. Hence, the totality of this pair again seems to create a rather sinister scene, in which the unsuspecting sheep will be overrun by the suddenly appearing predators. Whereas Odysseus' wolf had cautiously avoided the herdsmen, the assault of these predators is unrestrained: the only shepherds in this situation are asleep (line 74), just like the Trojans.

A first description of this bloodbath extends from lines 86 to 144, detailing the various ways in which Trojans are killed and the terror of women (a long series of οἳ μέν …, οἳ δέ …, δέ …, etc). The wolves reappear in an extended simile at the end, now alongside jackals.[29] This time, the sheep are huddled together in the shade on the warmest hour of the day and the shepherds have left the flock to carry home milk. Hence, the jackals or wolves are again able to fall upon their victims unawares (Q.S. 13.133–142).[30] It is specified how they kill the entire flock: "To fill their capacious bellies; they attack them all and lap up their dark blood, persisting until they've destroyed the whole flock, a sorry feast for the wretched herdsman" (Q.S. 13.138–140).[31] Again, the image is assimilated to the comparandum in specific ways: like the Achaeans, the predators have now reached their scene of slaughter, and the resulting bloodbath is excessive. One

add πορδάλιες (1993, 230). According to this, James translates the passage with "leopards" (2004, 206). However, this would be the first and only instance of the leopard with a male comparandum in the *Posthomerica* (see also Spinoula 2008, 239–240).

28 See footnote 23.

29 In Q.S. 7.504–511, discussed above, jackals are also mentioned together with wolves. Spinoula detects an evolution of jackals as 'underdog predators' towards their last occurrence in Book 13, where they finally are successful (2008, 79–82). Just as wolves and lions, moreover, jackals are mostly used for Achaean comparanda. Those images, according to her, "gradually [lead] to a climax of harmfulness" (ibid. 82).

30 After line 137, one verse is lost.

31 This simile has already been mentioned in section 6.1.1. The close relation of this description to an earlier lion simile in the *Posthomerica* is discussed in footnote 14. Again, the switch of lion to wolf comparans is significant.

could wonder if it is strictly necessary for the wolves and jackals to kill an entire flock, if they just intend to fill their bellies.

Indeed, the next simile of the sequence no longer mentions hunger as the motive of the predators (Q.S. 13.156–161). The attackers are now compared to beasts (θῆρες) in general, and the flock is not specified either. However, the setting is again a σταθμός (line 157), and a herdsman is mentioned too. This time, the latter has been able to offer resistance to the predators, and even wound them. Analogously, the simile occurs in the passage describing the first resistance of the Trojans. Those who have been able to gather their wits and weapons wound and even kill several Achaeans (again, this is described in an extensive catalogue of οἳ μέν …, οἳ δέ …, δέ …, etc.). Their wounds only make the θῆρες (and the Achaeans in the comparandum) more furious: "Their anger was roused to the pitch of frenzied fury during that night of horror" (ἀργαλέως μαίνοντο διεγρομένοιο χόλοιο | νύχθ' ὑπὸ λευγαλέην: Q.S. 13.158–159). Μανία has replaced hunger, and the predators of the previous images have become undefined savage animals. In a comparative study of the use of the θήρ comparans in Homer, Apollonius and Quintus, Spinoula concludes that "the θήρ particularly depicts the crossing of the limits (mainly of emotion rather than of action and valour) between human and animal. It is the master representative of the animal-realm; the reflection of crude and unrefined wildness. It embodies the force of the irrational" (2005, 217). This definition provides a possible explanation for the sudden appearance of θῆρες towards the end of the simile sequence in Book 13: the wolves (or rather: predators) have reached the *summum* of their rage. There is a sinister climax in the sequence of similes such as it has been shaped thus far. The discussed similes and comparisons repeatedly use the same motifs: the victims are helpless sheep, caught unawares (most often in their own fold) due to insufficient protection by the herdsmen and/or dogs. The attacker is invariably some kind of predator, usually wolves. Together, the images paint a clear picture of increasing carnage, which started as a threat and ends in an excessive bloodbath. Simultaneously, it shapes the rather sinister atmosphere in which the Sack takes place. The choice of (mainly) wolves instead of lions adds to this sense of a changed battle context, and might even, according to some, imply a moral judgment of this 'unheroic' situation (see Spinoula, discussed above). However, the sixth and last simile of the wolf sequence introduces a remarkable variation that again stimulates an ambivalent appreciation of what happens during the Sack:

Ἠύτε πόρτιν ὄρεσφι λύκοι χατέοντες ἐδωδῆς
κρημνὸν ἐς ἠχήεντα κακοφραδίῃσι βάλωνται
μητρὸς ἀποτμήξαντες ἐυγλαγέων ἀπὸ μαζῶν,

ἡ δὲ θέῃ γοόωσα φίλον τέκος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
μακρὰ κινυρομένη, τῇ δ' ἐξόπιθεν κακὸν ἄλλο
ἔλθῃ, ἐπεί κε λέοντες ἀναρπάζωσι καὶ αὐτήν·

Q.S. 13.258–263

Just as mountain wolves in need of food with cruel
Cunning will drive a calf over an echoing cliff
After cutting it off from its mother's milky udder;
The mother bemoaning her precious offspring runs to and fro
With loud and plaintive cries, till she herself is caught
By another evil, lions that come from behind her

This extended simile is situated after the third individual episode of the carnage: after the feats of arms of Diomedes and Neoptolemus (the latter killing Priam), Andromache is captured and her son flung over the city walls by unspecified Achaeans.[32] In the simile, they obtain a double comparandum, in line with the double action they perform: first, a calf is chased over the cliffs by hungry wolves. Its lamenting mother is then attacked by lions. Although this image clearly relates to the previous similes of the sequence by the mention of wolves, it also stands out because of a few meaningful variations. First, attention is drawn to the reappearance of the lion, which had not occurred before in Book 13. The comparans for the victim has also changed: instead of a flock (of sheep), the attack is now aimed at one calf and its mother. These changes have meaningful implications in and for their narrative context. The entire situation can be evaluated from several points of view.

The choice of the wolf comparans no longer surprises in Book 13. Contrary to their last appearance, they are now again driven by hunger. Also, the motivation of the Achaeans for their attack on Astyanax is clearly explained: they are still angry for the misery Hector caused them, and now take it out on his son (Q.S. 13.254–256). This wrath indicates a continuity in the motivation of the Achaeans from the *Iliad* until now. On the other hand, Astyanax is described as a νήπιον, οὔ πω δῆριν ἐπιστάμενον πολέμοιο ("an infant who had no knowledge yet of warfare", Q.S. 13.257). The misleading position of the word νήπιον (which

32 Other versions of the tradition name Neoptolemus or Odysseus as the murderer of Astyanax (see Vian 1969 T3, 125–126 for more details). However, Quintus' explicit mention of anonymous Danaans (Q.S. 13.251) clears Neoptolemus of these deeds, which, according to Boyten, is an argument in favour of the young hero's more positive characterization in the *Posthomerica* (2010, 197–198). Neoptolemus' role in Book 13 and Boyten's conclusions are discussed in more detail in section 6.2.

can also carry the mean of 'fool' at the beginning of a verse) seems to treat Astyanax, who is a literal νήπιος or infant, as one of Homer's or Quintus' tragic heroes who foolishly misjudge their own fate.[33] This confusion of meanings of the word νήπιος shows how confusing the new situation is: defenceless victims now find themselves in a battle context. It leaves no doubt that the death of little Astyanax is cruel: Quintus draws attention to the fact that he is still a very young child, hence one might be more inclined to question the murder of this baby, or, when looking back at the simile, wonder if the wolves will be able to reach the carcass of the calf at the bottom of the cliff and feed on it, as was their original intention. On the other hand, the murder of Astyanax is an inescapable part of the tradition. Besides inserting elements that increase the pathos of the scene, Quintus also adds a Homeric legitimation for the deed, from an Achaean point of view: he is the son of Hector. Vian argues that Astyanax is likely the only child killed on purpose during the Sack, exactly because he is Hector's son. The rest of *Posthomerica* 13 does not give proof of a child massacre (1969 T3, 117 n. 2). In this, Quintus gives a more moderate impression than Triphiodorus, who clearly suggests repeated infant slaughter in *Sack of Ilion* 603–606. In Quintus, children do die as part of the general casualties, but without such an explicit focus.[34] In the Astyanax scene, then, pathos and legitimation together mark the narration.

The simile and its narrative context are rendered even more complex by the sudden reappearance, for the first and only time in Book 13, of lions in the comparans. Whereas both the murder of the child (/calf) and the capture of its mother (/cow) are represented as collective deeds of anonymous Achaeans, the latter's comparans makes a switch from wolves to lions halfway through the simile. This results in an innovative combination of two existing comparantia. On the one hand, the confrontation of lions and cows is known from the battlefield.[35] In such a case, the comparandum of the cow is a warrior. However, the

33 In Book 13, νήπιος has twice been used in this way: for the drunken τις Trojan celebrating victory (line 20) and for Diomedes' first victim, Coroebus, who will not enjoy the marriage for which he had come to Troy only one day earlier (line 174). Further discussion of the use of νήπιος in section 2.1.

34 For an overview of the (anticipations to) children's death in the *Posthomerica*, see Boyten (2010, 166–170).

35 These images always depict warrior confrontations. E.g. Q.S. 1.5–8 and 315–318 (βοῦς), 6.410 (ταῦρος), 7.486–493 (βοῦς, πόρτις) and 8.238 (πόρτις). Note that the example in Q.S. 1.5–8 is—again—the first simile in the *Posthomerica*, in which the Trojans were cowering behind the city walls, for fear of Achilles. In Book 13, the lions have penetrated into the city and their greatest fear has become reality. For an overview of cow images in Homer, see section 2.1.2 footnote 30.

cow comparans is also repeatedly used for women in grief. Before Book 13, for example, Deidamia complained of Neoptolemus' departure like a mother cow distressed by the loss of her calf (Q.S. 7.257–261).[36] This is the most obvious precedent for Andromache's cow simile in Book 13. Both she and Deidamia are primarily described as the mother of the heifer (πόρτις) they lament. In Book 7, Deidamia's lament was represented as a voice countering Neoptolemus' heroic perspective: in contrast to her son, she feared the grief that war could cause her.[37] In a sense, this fear of Book 7 comes true in Book 13, as Andromache loses both her son and her freedom. Simultaneously, her simile represents a clash of two perspectives: the wailing mother cow is introduced into a battle situation, where she is attacked by lions.

All in all, this complex simile does little to relieve the ambivalent situation in which defenceless victims come face to face with warriors. Throughout the discussed sequence of similes, the wolf comparans has evoked an increasingly sinister tonality in the description of the carnage. Simultaneously, the tragic irony of the Trojan fate was latent throughout the same bloody narrative. All of this results in a complex simile in which lions again take the place of wolves. On the one hand, it could be argued that the climax of Achaean victory thus consists of furious mass slaughter, the murder of infants and kidnapping of innocent women. As discussed above, however, the situation is not depicted in quite so black-and-white terms. These bloody deeds can also be explained from an Achaean heroic point of view: they have a reason to kill Astyanax, and the capture of women is a legitimate part of conquest and a source of honour (see also section 6.2.3). Eventually, little is done to suggest decisive judgment—nor is this necessarily required. The two foci need not exclude each other. This duality may well be in line with the following episodes of Book 13. The reappearance of the lions happens in the middle of a series of individual cases, in which several Achaean heroes figure as the successive protagonists. In the next section, I discuss the first two of these episodes, which focus on individual Achaean heroes: Diomedes and Neoptolemus. Both precede Andromache's capture and are clearly linked in that their central victim is an elderly man. In turn, both episodes clearly relate to the complex Andromache scene, which is again discussed at the end of this next section.

36 Another image of the wailing cow occurs in Q.S. 14.258–262 for Hecabe and Polyxena (see section 7.2.2; Vian 1969 T3, 139 n. 5).

37 More on similes about (Trojan) women in the grief of war, and the images for Deidamia and Andromache in particular by Spinoula (2008, 223–226). For a discussion of Deidamia's grief, see also section 4.2.1.1.

6.2 The Gift of Mercy

As mentioned above, the Trojans are quite late in offering their first (and insufficient) resistance to the conquerors. The final passage of the first general 'tableau' starts with the words οὐδὲ μὲν Ἀργείοισιν ἀνούτητος πέλε δῆρις ("for the Argives also the fighting was not free from wounds", line 145). The word δῆρις ('battle') is common in the *Posthomerica* (71 occurrences in total, none of which occur in Book 14), and is also mentioned four times in Book 13: first in this quote and then three more times in (roughly) the next 100 verses, which also comprise the episodes of Diomedes and Neoptolemus.[38] Significantly, then, these heroes—the first Achaean champions to appear during the turmoil—are staged in (the illusion of) a real battle context.[39] Diomedes' first two victims are described as if they were casualties on the battlefield. For example, Coroebus dies with a spear through his throat, and the narrator reflects that "the fool (νήπιος) did not enjoy the marriage for which he'd come the previous day to Priam's city and promised to drive the Achaeans from Ilion" (lines 174–176). Besides the motif of 'not fulfilling one's further life expectations' (common in Iliadic battles as well; see Fenik 1968, 87 for examples), this scene also bears strong reminiscence to the trouble the Trojans have thus far experienced with promises. Much like Penthesilea in Book 1, this youth has apparently promised to chase off the Achaeans, and is called νήπιος for it. His failure is even more acute, since he is killed in the middle of the Sack that he had hoped to prevent. Both he and Eurydamas have come to meet Diomedes (ἀντιόωντα, lines 168 and 178), hinting at a battle situation rather than a one-sided carnage.[40] The evocation of this martial context is crucial to understand the state of mind in which both Diomedes and Neoptolemus appear and act during their central confrontations.

38 Once right before Diomedes' episode starts, as the Achaeans bring torches to light the δῆρις (line 166) and once when Neoptolemus kills Agenor (line 216); the last instance refers to Astyanax, who has "no knowledge yet of warfare" (line 257, see also section 6.1.2).

39 Simultaneously, the narrative starts mentioning battlefield weapons, such as ἐγχείη ('spear'; only twice in Book 13: lines 161 and 170), ξίφος ('sword'; lines 153, 163, 182, 188, 354, 390, 394 and 441) and δόρυ ('spear'; lines 163, 172, 209, 213, 302 and 335). These real weapons only appear at the end of the resistance, after the Trojans have first attempted to defend themselves with what Vian calls "les moyens de fortune", i.e. objects that are accidentally found at the disposal of the surprised Trojans (Vian 1969 T3, 118).

40 As Gärtner states: "Die restlichen Heldentaten des Diomedes (…) haben keine direkten Vorbilder, entsprechen aber ganz epischem Repertoire" (2005, 235).

6.2.1 *An Old Supplicant*

For Diomedes, this central victim is Ilioneus, an old man who is introduced as a δημογέρων ('statesman', 'elder of the people') of Troy (Q.S. 13.181). Upon seeing Diomedes, he falls to his knees and, clasping both the hero's sword and knees, begs him to be spared:

> "Γουνοῦμαί σ', ὅ τίς ἐσσι πολυσθενέων Ἀργείων,
> αἴδεσαι ἀμφὶ γέροντος[41] ....
> .... τεὰς χέρας ἀργαλέου τε
> λῆγε χόλου· καὶ γάρ ῥα μακρὸν πέλει ἀνέρι κῦδος
> ἄνδρα νέον κτείναντι καὶ ὄβριμον· ἢν δὲ γέροντα
> κτείνῃς, οὔ νύ τοι αἶνος ἐφέψεται εἵνεκεν ἀλκῆς.
> Τοὔνεκ' ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἐς αἰζηοὺς τρέπε χεῖρας
> ἐλπόμενός ποτε γῆρας ὁμοίιον εἰσαφικέσθαι."
>
> Ilioneus: Q.S. 13.191–197

> "I beg you, whoever you are of Argos' mighty men,
> Respect these hands which supplicate you and abate
> Your frightful anger. Great is the glory that is won
> By killing a man who is young and strong. But if you kill
> An old man, no renown for prowess will attend you.
> So turn your hands away from me and aim at the young ones,
> As you hope one day to reach an old age like mine."

This supplication scene is strongly reminiscent of the Lycaon passage in *Iliad* 21.34 ff.: the young Trojan has lost his weapons in the river and climbs out, only to find himself face to face with a raging Achilles, in front of whom he fearfully collapses. He clasps both Achilles' knees and the weapon that threatens him, and begs for mercy in a speech starting with γουνοῦμαι (*Iliad* 21.74).[42] In total,

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41 The first mention of γέρων is not rendered in James' translation. In the Greek text, Ilioneus' repeated emphasis on his old age is much stronger.

42 For the connection between both scenes, see also Boyten (2007, 324) and my footnote 67 for a brief note on his interpretation. The threatening weapon is a sword in Diomedes' case (Q.S. 13.182–185), but a spear for Achilles (*Iliad* 21.71–72). However, both Ilioneus and Lycaon are eventually put to the sword: after his unpitying answer to Lycaon, Achilles draws his sword to kill him (*Iliad* 21.114–119). Neoptolemus kills Priam with a sword later on in Q.S. 13.236 (see Vian 1969 T3, 138 n. 6 for other variants of this tradition). Despite the earlier importance of Achilles' spear, this change of weapon need perhaps not surprise us, given the considerable change in the fighting situation: Eurypylus was killed in a duel, but both the old king and Polyxena in the next book are another kind of victim (see also section 7.2.2).

there are four Homeric speeches (and only one in Quintus) starting with γουνοῦμαι, three of which occur in some kind of martial context:[43] besides Achilles' encounter with Lycaon, Odysseus is faced by Leiodes and Phemius during the massacre of the suitors (*Odyssey* 22.312 and 344, respectively).[44] All of these supplicants are completely unarmed.[45] Ilioneus too finds himself unarmed in a violent situation, where only words might still save him.[46] However, his prospects are—as in Homer—rather unfavourable. Eventually, two of the three Homeric supplicants are killed, in spite of their pleas: Achilles replies to Lycaon that he has lost all sense of pity after Patroclus' death (Achilles: *Iliad* 21.99–105) and Odysseus will spare none of the suitors. Phemius, who is not a suitor himself, is saved thanks to Telemachus' timely intervention (*Odyssey* 22.356–360). Hence, there is no way of knowing what Odysseus' own impulsive response to Phemius' supplication would have been, but Leiodes is killed (Odysseus: *Odyssey* 22.321–325). Such a relentless reaction could indeed be explained from a Homeric heroic point of view. As Horn argues, the killing of battlefield supplicants is not a violation of religious or moral standards: when a hero has an enemy at his mercy, he should only consider how this enemy will give him the best reward: alive (for ransom) or dead (for spoils and/or revenge). The option of live capture for ransom is never chosen in the *Iliad*. Although analepses to pre-Iliadic situations, such as the first capture of Lycaon by Achilles, show it was valid from a heroic point of view to spare a battle supplicant, all battlefield supplicants are killed, most of them (including Lycaon) out of rage.[47] The massacre of the suitors in *Odyssey* 22, including the murder of Leiodes, is inspired by the same kind of anger (Horn 2014, 310). In the *Posthomerica*, Diomedes is subject to a battle fury that makes him reject Ilioneus' argument:

43 The fourth Homeric instance of γουνοῦμαι has no martial setting at all: it concerns Odysseus' supplication to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6.149. Besides the fact that Odysseus is also utterly unarmed (for the other three cases, see footnote 45), there are few obvious parallels between the Nausicaa scene and the three others. As a consequence, this passage is not further taken into account in the analysis that follows.

44 For the martial context of *Odyssey* 22, see section 5.1 footnote 19.

45 Lycaon has lost his weapons in the river (*Iliad* 21.50–52) and in *Odyssey* 22, all weapons have been removed from the hall before the attack.

46 Each of these three Homeric cases starts with the phrase "γουνοῦμαι σ' Ἀχιλεῦ [resp. Ὀδυσεῦ]· σὺ δέ μ' αἴδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον" ("I beg you by your knees, Achilles [resp. Odysseus], respect me and have pity on me"). Ilioneus, who does not recognize his killer, freely adapts this phrase into "γουνοῦμαί σ' (...) | αἴδεσαι" (Q.S. 13.191–192).

47 For further examples, see Fenik (1968, 83). In the *Iliad*, all battlefield supplicants are Trojans. In that context, they do not have the advantage of divine protection; their lives are literally weighed by the value they have for the honour of the victor. For further discussion of 'Schlachfeldhikesien', see Horn (2014, 105–111).

> "Ὦ γέρον, ἔλπομ' ἔγωγ' ἐσθλὸν ποτὶ γῆρας ἱκέσθαι·
> ἀλλά μοι ⟨ἕ⟩ως ἔτι κάρτος ἀέξεται, οὔ τιν' ἐάσω
> ἐχθρὸν ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλλ' Ἄιδι πάντας ἰάψω,
> οὕνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δήιον ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνει."
>
> Diomedes: Q.S. 13.199–202

> "Old man, I certainly hope to reach a happy old age.
> But while my strength is undiminished I shall not spare
> An enemy of my person; I'll hurl them all to Hades.
> It is the brave man's mark to avenge himself on his foes."

Diomedes will kill every enemy he encounters. His reply may be inspired by the general bellicosity of the Sack,[48] but the last line also contains a gnome that seems to embed his statement in a larger heroic determination. From the Homeric point of view, that this scene clearly indicates, then, Diomedes' choice to kill Ilioneus should not be surprising. Looking back to the Lycaon scene, Achilles equally scorned the argument of young age. Lycaon laments that he has only just returned home after his previous capture (also by Achilles), and that "to a brief span of life (μινυνθάδιον) did my mother bear me" (Lycaon: *Iliad* 21.84–85). Achilles, however, explicitly rejects this argument: "Why lament thus? Patroclus also died" (Achilles: *Iliad* 21.106–107) and "yet over me too hang death and resistless fate. There will come a dawn or evening or midday, when my life too will some man take in battle" (ibid. 110–112). However, Diomedes now faces an old man instead of a youth. Here lies the main difference between Lycaon's supplication and Ilioneus'. The latter's old age is repeatedly stressed in both the supplication and Diomedes' reply to it. Ilioneus argues that killing an old man could not prove a hero's strength. Hence, this would not bring him the same κῦδος as the killing of a young man (lines 193–195). As a matter of fact, he points to the difference between this situation and the Lycaon scene, and in doing so, Ilioneus makes a good point. Earlier in the *Posthomerica*, Nestor had indeed been sent away from battle twice because of his advanced age: Neoptolemus prevented Nestor from entering the Horse to give that honour to the young (Q.S. 12.276–280; see section 5.2), and Memnon had plainly refused to fight Nestor on grounds of his old age (James 2004, 335).[49] Neither of these

48 Compare to the Achaean triumph in Book 14: "We have reached the goal of this long war, won glory (κῦδος) far and wide by destroying our foes (δηίοισι) and their great city" (anonymous Achaeans: Q.S. 14.117–118).

49 "It is not fitting for me to fight against you who are so much older, as I now can see. I thought at first it was a young man, fit for fighting (νέον καὶ ἀρήιον ἄνδρα), who faced the

cases involved the supplication of an old man, however. The Ilioneus episode, then, presents an entirely new case: Diomedes faces an old supplicant in a martial context. This situation can be looked at from two opposite sides. For Diomedes, Ilioneus is an enemy on his raging way through the carnage, and killing him is heroically legitimate. Ilioneus, on the other hand, finds that old age should be a decisive argument allowing him to be spared. There is no clear precedent to this situation.[50] Two perspectives clash in a new, confusing situation: battle has reached Troy and new victims, but the Achaeans' aim and motivation have not altered. Inevitably, the question arises about what to do with an old supplicant in the context of the Sack. The answer to such a case could easily be morally inspired. In Triphiodorus' *Sack of Ilion*, for example, the narrator's pathetic description of the murder of old men takes a clear stand against the cruel conquerors (see also Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 435–436):

οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες ἀτιμοτάτοισι φόνοισιν
οὐδ' ὀρθοὶ κτείνοντο, χαμαὶ δ' ἱκετήσια γυῖα
τεινάμενοι πολιοῖσι κατεκλίνοντο καρήνοις.

Sack of Ilion 600–602

> And old men most piteous were slain in most unworthy slaughter: slain not on their feet, but, stretching on the ground their suppliant limbs, they had their grey heads laid low.

This passage is directly succeeded by the murder of infants mentioned above, and preceded by a general evocation of the sacrilege committed by the Achaeans for not sparing supplicants (*Sack of Ilion* 596–599). It would be tempting to judge the Ilioneus scene in a similar way. However, Quintus is rather more ambivalent in his representation of events, and certainly less explicit in suggesting any moral judgment. Ilioneus' age is amply stressed when he falls to his knees in front of Diomedes: τοῦ δ' ἄρα πάγχυ | γηραλέου κλάσθησαν ἄδην ὑπὸ σώματι γυῖα· | καί ῥα περιτρομέων ("thereupon his aged legs completely gave way beneath him; trembling with terror and holding out both hands" Q.S. 13.182–184) and στυγερὸν δέ μιν ἄμπεχε δεῖμα ("gripped as he was by abject fear", line 190). After the supplication, however, the situation no longer focuses on

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foe, and in my boldness I expected I would have work that was worthy of my hand and spear" (Memnon: Q.S. 2.309–313). See section 2.3.2.

50 The supplication of Priam to Achilles in *Iliad* 24 happens in a partially different context. This is discussed at length in section 6.2.2.

old man's age, or by extension on his possibly 'peculiar' position in front of a warrior. The description of his death reminds the reader of a casual kill on the battlefield—and is less cruel than some of those, for that matter: "With that the fearsome hero drove his deadly sword into his throat, at the point where the life of mortal men is quickly ended, through the bloodstreams' vital passages. While he succumbed to the dreadful doom of being lain by the hands of Tydeus' son, the latter, to kill more Trojans, charged thourgh the city" (Q.S. 13.203–208). Diomedes' characterization does not seem to be unusually cruel. Despite a few (possibly) scary adjectives, the hero also stays his sword long enough to allow the old man his supplication. The narrator is not sure why: "Despite his passion for combat, either forgetting his anger or at some god's prompting, he briefly withdrew his sword from the old man" (Q.S. 13.186–189). Such an interval was not granted to Penthesilea, for example, when she considered surrender after being wounded: "These courses she pondered, but the gods had chosen another. Her movement only infuriated the son of Peleus; in a flash he impaled her" (Q.S. 1.610–612). All in all, then, Diomedes' representation is not so different from that of a battlefield hero, and this is clearly the state of mind with which he is taking part in the Sack of Troy. Quintus' narrative does not steer the reader away from pathos, but also keeps evoking aspects that could remind a reader of a battle context. Arguments could be—and have been—found to support a moral reading of the Ilioneus scene, but such readings risk being more selective and overlooking the complex interplay of points of view in the confrontation and representation of both supplicant and hero.[51] This is especially apparent in the contrasting inter- and intratexts, which could support either case. Ilioneus could be deemed naïve in his supplication (from Diomedes' point of view), or Diomedes cruel in his refusal (from Ilioneus' point

51 From the arguments provided above, Boyten distils a reading that contrasts Diomedes' fearsome characterization to the pathos of the old man (2007, 324–325 and 2010, 197). However, I am convinced that many of these arguments can work the other way around as well. The mere fact that such a difference in opinion is possible is an indication of the ambivalent signals provided in this scene. For example, Boyten points out two adjectives for Diomedes with a possibly negative connotation. The first is ἀνδροφόνου ἥρωος ('manslaying warrior': line 186). The adjective occurs only three times in the *Posthomerica*: once for the word ὑσμίνῃ ('combat': Q.S. 4.24), once for the Cyclops (Q.S. 8.126) and now for Diomedes. In Homer (particularly the *Iliad*), however, it is more common, with seventeen occurrences in total, ten of which are as an epithet for Hector. Hence, this word is clearly associated with the context of warfare in general, as well. Diomedes is also called a δεινὸς ἀνήρ ('fearsome man') when killing Ilioneus. Again, this is a word most often associated with various aspects of war, in the *Posthomerica* as in the *Iliad*. Both adjectives might thus strengthen the pathos in the scene and stress the resonance of warfare in the appearance of Diomedes at the same time.

of view). Whereas other versions, such as Triphiodorus', clearly take a stand in this discussion,[52] Quintus tends to keep his description ambivalent, and rather seems to invite reflection on this topic. This becomes particularly clear when the Ilioneus scene is read in dialogue with the next individual episode.

6.2.2 *Two Old Supplicants*

As a character in the Sack, Ilioneus is otherwise unknown.[53] However, his name suggests a close link to the city of Troy (Boyten 2010, 163), which could serve as an additional argument for associating him with the old man who appears in the second individual episode: Priam. These two scenes seem to be composed as a diptych of situations in which an old man meets his doom at the hand of an Achaean hero. This interrelation complicates the questions raised by Ilioneus' death and stimulates further reflection, especially because the two episodes are so obviously composed as contrasting parallels.[54] Neoptolemus' appearance is still embedded in a battle-like context.[55] Priam's reaction to the appearance of his killer, however, is different from Ilioneus': the old king immediately recognizes his killer, and is unafraid, "because his spirit yearned to die at the side of his own sons" (Q.S. 13.223–224). Therefore, he pleads for death:

"Ὦ τέκος ὀβριμόθυμον ἐυπτολέμου Ἀχιλῆος,
κτεῖνον μηδ' ἐλέαιρε δυσάμμορον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
τοῖα παθὼν καὶ τόσσα λιλαίομαι εἰσοράασθαι
ἠελίοιο φάος πανδερκέος, ἀλλά που ἤδη
φθεῖσθαι ὁμῶς τεκέεσσι καὶ ἐκλελαθέσθαι ἀνίης
λευγαλέης ὁμάδου τε δυσηχέος. Ὣς ὄφελόν με

52 On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Triphiodorus depicts both his Achaeans and his Trojans in rather prototypical ways (see also footnote 21). Quintus' narrative, however, is less explicit in its judgments about their behaviour.

53 Both Vian (1969 T3, 135 n. 8) and James (2004, 335) suggest that this character could be associated with Eioneus, one of Neoptolemus' victims in the *Ilias Parva*.

54 Vian already discusses the two passages as "un diptyque où l'attitude courageuse de Priam s'oppose à la veulerie d'Ilionée" (T3 1969, 118). Boyten finds that Diomedes and Neoptolemus are opposed to one another, the former marked by his cruelty and the latter by the significantly mild representation of an inevitable murder (2007, 320–326 and 2010, 193–198). Gärtner more generally states that "dieser recht einfache Kunstgriff der Doppelung von Quintus selbst stammt, um der gegensätzlichen Haltung des Königs mehr Gewicht zu verleihen" (2005, 238). I elaborate on this ongoing discussion below.

55 Between the deaths of Ilioneus and Priam, a brief overview is given of other heroic kills (e.g. by Ajax Minor and Agamemnon) and Neoptolemus himself (Q.S. 13.209–218). Neoptolemus' first feats of arms are, once more, associated with his father's power (Q.S. 13.219–220).

σεῖο πατὴρ κατέπεφνε, πρὶν αἰθομένην ἐσιδέσθαι
Ἴλιον, ὁππότ’ ἄποινα περὶ κταμένοιο φέρεσκον
Ἕκτορος, ὅν ⟨περ⟩ ἔπεφνε πατὴρ τεός. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που
Κῆρες ἐπεκλώσαντο· σὺ δ’ ἡμετέροιο φόνοιο
ἄασον ὄβριμον ἆορ, ὅπως λελάθωμ’ ὀδυνάων.”
Priam: Q.S. 13.226–236

“Stouthearted son of Achilles the mighty warrior,
Kill me without mercy in my misfortune. I certainly,
After all that I’ve suffered, have no desire to see
The light of the all-seeing sun. My one wish now
Is to perish with my children and so to forget my grievous
Pain and the ugly din of war. If only
Your father had killed me before I had to see the burning
Of Ilion, when I brought him a ransom for the body
Of Hector, after your father had slain him. But such is the thread
The Fates have spun for me. So glut your mighty sword
By shedding my blood and letting me forget my anguish.”

Priam has clearly reached the point at which his misery makes him long only for death and oblivion. This is the climax resulting from his consistent characterization throughout the *Posthomerica*, as a man marked by pain and grief. That representation is the strongest in Book 1, at the very beginning of the epic. At his first appearance in the *Posthomerica*, he is described as: Πριάμοιο νόος πολέα στενάχοντος | καὶ μέγ’ ἀκηχεμένοιο (“Priam, whose mind had many a cause to groan, whose heart was greatly distressed”, Q.S. 1.74–75). The loss of his children is the main cause of his grief (Q.S. 1.84–85). While praying for Penthesilea’s, he raises his πολυτλήτους (…) χεῖρας (“hands that had suffered much”, Q.S. 1.182–183) and remembers his earlier suffering: “Consider (αἴδεσσαι) all the evil that my heart has suffered, the deaths of my children, torn from me by the Fates at the hands of the Argives on the battlefront. Consider (αἴδεο)” (Priam: Q.S. 1.192–195). Despite his misery, he still cherishes (a bit of) hope in Book 1 and especially 2 (see sections 2.2 and 2.3). This picture of a suffering king clearly continues Homer’s characterization.[56] In the *Iliad*, Priam’s grief for Hector surpasses everything else (e.g. *Iliad* 22.422–426), and the old king has always associated the latter’s (impending) death with the destruction of Troy. He also feared experiencing the Sack in his old age, for example when Hector decided

56 More on Priam’s grief in the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* by Boyten (2010, 155–163).

to face Achilles: "Have compassion on me while I still live—on wretched me, whom the father, son of Cronos, will slay by a gruesome fate on the threshold of old age after seeing many ills, my sons perishing and my daughters dragged off, and my treasure chambers sacked, and little ones hurled to the ground in the dread conflict, and my sons' wives dragged off at the deadly hands of the Achaeans (…) But when dogs work shame on the gray head and gray beard and on the nakedness of a slain old man, that is the most piteous thing that falls to wretched mortals" (*Iliad* 22.59–76). He even has expressed the wish to die, rather than to witness that disaster: "But as for me, before my eyes look on the city sacked and laid waste, may I go down into the house of Hades" (Priam: *Iliad* 24.245–246; Boyten 2010, 162). In *Posthomerica* 13, his death wish is therefore no surprise, for his fear has come true. Neoptolemus is happy to comply, and the final reflection of the narrator on Priam's death scene is that the old king's glory has passed, but that death has indeed given him oblivion and escape from his misery (Q.S. 13.248–250).[57]

In contrast to Ilioneus, Priam uses old age as an argument to be killed, rather than to be spared. Both the fear of Ilioneus and the despair of Priam could be understandable reactions in the context of the Sack.[58] However, the close interrelation of both scenes also invites explicit reflection, and Priam's words bring nuance to Ilioneus': it does not always make sense for old age to beg for mercy. This reflection is deepened by a common intertext that is used in the two episodes to support the opposing points of the old men. Priam explicitly refers to his earlier meeting with Achilles (*Iliad* 24). Ilioneus' supplication could also implicitly be related to that passage. First, Priam is the only suppliant who is spared in the *Iliad* (Horn 2014, 225ff.). Moreover, Homer's Priam appeals to Achilles' sympathy for his old age to obtain his goal. Ilioneus also asks Diomedes to sympathize (line 197). For Ilioneus, Achilles' behaviour in the *Iliad* could have been an example of good practice, but Quintus' Priam depicts it as a mistake: rather than hosting him, Achilles should have killed him. The mere fact that both old men could derive inspiration from the same passage to strengthen their argument indicates the complexity of the situation in *Iliad* 24.[59] Quintus clearly juxtaposes two possible interpretations. In fact, Priam's death not only contrasts with Ilioneus', but also with two other versions of

57 The gnomic verses that conclude the Priam episode are discussed in section 6.2.3.

58 These different reactions also recur in general 'tableaux' of the carnage: the Trojans (both men and women) who are not completely surprised take fright and flee, or stand and fight (e.g. Q.S. 13.94–97 and 116–123). Yet a third group commits suicide (Q.S. 13.441–444).

59 For a more thorough reflection on this matter, see Tomasso (2012, 400).

Priam's death in the same literary tradition. Both Vergil's Priam (*Aeneid* 2.535–543) and Triphiodorus' narrator (*Sack of Ilion* 634–643) also explicitly refer to *Iliad* 24. Generally, it seems obvious to link Priam's murder to his previous meeting with Achilles, for this scene forms the basis of a complex relationship between both: Achilles has killed Priam's son and then hosted Priam, whereas now, Achilles' son will kill Priam. The shared history of Priam and Achilles can therefore serve as a weighty precedent by which to assess Neoptolemus' current behaviour towards the old king. This is exactly how both Vergil and Triphiodorus see it. In the *Sack of Ilion*, the murder is described in general terms, but with—again—a clearly negative judgment of the murder, and in particular of Neoptolemus (σχέτλιος, line 640):

Αἰακίδης δὲ γέροντα Νεοπτόλεμος βασιλῆα
πήμασι κεκμηῶτα παρ' Ἑρκείῳ κτάνε βωμῷ
οἶκτον ἀπωσάμενος πατρώιον· οὐδὲ λιτάων
ἔκλυεν, οὐ Πηλῆος ὁρώμενος ἥλικα χαίτην
ᾐδέσαθ', ἧς ὕπο θυμὸν ἀπέκλασεν ᾐδὲ γέροντος
καίπερ ἐὼν βαρύμηνις ἐφείσατο τὸ πρὶν Ἀχιλλεύς.
σχέτλιος, ἦ μὲν ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτῷ πότμος ὁμοῖος
ἑσπέσθαι παρὰ βωμὸν ἀληθέος Ἀπόλλωνος

Sack of Ilion 634–641

But Neoptolemus, scion of Aeacus, slew beside the altar of Zeus of the Court-yard the aged king out-worn with woe. He put from him such pity as his father had shown, and hearkened not to his prayers, nor had compassion when he looked on his hair grey even as the hair of Peleus: the hair at which of old Achilles softened his heart and, despite his grievous anger, spared the old man. Hard of heart! Verily a like fate was destined afterward to come to him by the altar of truthful Apollo.

The Vergilian passage is rather more extensive and detailed. This time, it is Priam who curses Pyrrhus, after the hero has killed another of his sons in front of his eyes:[60]

60 Vergil and Quintus are the only ones to mention that Polites is killed by the son of Achilles. In Quintus' version, this is described as one of the minor casualties before Neoptolemus reaches Priam (Vian 1969 T3, 121–122; see also Jahn 2009, 90). Quintus' list of victims of Neoptolemus before he reaches Priam, however, mentions several sons of Priam (Q.S. 13.214–216). This may again increase Priam's despair when addressing Neoptolemus.

"at tibi pro scelere," exclamat "pro talibus ausis
di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,
persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus.
at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
supplicis erubuit corpusque exsangue sepulcro
reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit."

Priam: *Aeneid* 2.535–543

"For your crime, for deeds so heinous," he cries, "if in heaven there is any righteousness to mark such sins, may the gods pay you fitting thanks and render you due rewards, who has made me look on my own son's murder, and defiled with death a father's face! Not so did Achilles deal with his foe Priam, that Achilles whose sonship you falsely claim, but he had respect for a suppliant's rights and trust; he gave back to the tomb Hector's bloodless corpse and sent me back to my realm."

In both of these—in themselves rather pathetic—scenes, the reference to *Iliad* 24 is used as a good example. Achilles' mercy is contrasted to Neoptolemus' disrespect for Priam's old age[61] and the sacrilege of a murder at the altar of Zeus Herkeios. The altar is a consistent detail in the tradition (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 448), as is the sacrilege Neoptolemus thus commits. Triphiodorus mentions the altar and, rather vaguely, Priam's ignored prayers (*Sack of Ilion* 635–637). Vergil also stresses the setting at the altar, as Hecabe draws her husband towards it for refuge (*Aeneid* 2.523–524) and Pyrrhus violently drags him back to the sacred place before slaying him (*Aeneid* 2.550–553). Quintus' Priam too will be killed at that particular spot (Q.S. 13.222; see also Schmitz 2007, 71), but the implications will be decisively different (see below). In both Vergil and Triphiodorus, Neoptolemus acts against οἶκτος (*Sack of Ilion* 636) or *pietas* (*Aeneid* 2.536), and Achilles must serve as an example of better practice. Generally, the discontinuity between the present murder and the past encounter of *Iliad* 24 is emphasized in these two references. Quintus looks at the situation from the

61 Triphiodorus explicitly mentions Priam's grey hair. In Vergil, Priam's old age and shaking limbs are contrasted to the armour he wears (e.g. his first description in *Aeneid* 2.509–511 and the weak spear throw later on in lines 544–546). For the latter, see also Vian (1969 T3, 138 n. 3).

opposite angle and stresses the continuity of Priam's grief. First, this seems to be a more accurate rendering of the facts in *Iliad*. Both Vergil and Triphiodorus use a slightly twisted reasoning to make their point: Vergil's Priam compares Pyrrhus' current slaughter of Polites to Achilles' clean return of Hector's body, but fails to mention that Achilles had killed Hector first. It was exactly this grief that had brought Priam to Achilles' tent in the first place. Triphiodorus' narrator compares Priam's currently unheeded prayers to the earlier, successful supplication in *Iliad* 24. However, it could be assumed that in the *Sack of Ilion*, Priam begs for his life (see also Gärtner 2005, 238 n. 59), while he had invoked sympathy for his old age first of all to stress his misery in the *Iliad*, and not (directly) to save his own life (*Iliad* 24.486–516). Quintus' Priam is the only one to actively recall his continued grief from the *Iliad* onward, which also has a second important implication for the Posthomeric description of his murder. His grief legitimizes Priam's wish to die and thus enables Neoptolemus to react just like his father in the *Iliad*,[62] by heeding the supplication and granting Priam what he asks for: first Hector's body, now death. Hence, although the events of *Iliad* 24 are questioned by Quintus' Priam,[63] this paradoxically results in a strong assimilation of Neoptolemus' current deeds to his father's at the end of the *Iliad* (see also Tomasso 2012, 400 n. 91).

In comparison to his counterparts in Vergil and Triphiodorus, Quintus' Neoptolemus does not behave too badly during the Sack, if only because Priam's supplication seems to obviate the sacrilege Neoptolemus could otherwise have committed.[64] In contrast, Quintus' narrator is notably severe regard-

62 Compare Miguélez-Cavero's reading of Neoptolemus in Triphiodorus: she finds that, although Neoptolemus has thus far always been measured against his father, the young hero does not follow Achilles' example of *Iliad* 24 and has no pity for Priam during the Sack (2013, 32–33).

63 Tomasso discusses the engagement of both Triphiodorus and Quintus with Homer in this passage (2012, 401).

64 Gärtner (2005, 238) and Boyten (2007, 321). James (2004, 366) and Jahn (2009, 90–91) compare Priam's murder in Vergil and Quintus. Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 448–450) and Tomasso (2012, 400–401) take Quintus into account in their discussion of Triphiodorus. Globally, the scene in the *Aeneid* is so violent and bloody that it requires little imagination to interpret Pyrrhus' characterization. Quintus' portrayal of Neoptolemus in *Posthomerica* 13 is comparatively milder (Boyten 2007, 320–323 and 2010, 190–192). In Triphiodorus, Priam's murder is the third and last episode in which Neoptolemus appears. In previous passages, the young hero had been likened to his father, first explicitly and then possibly implicitly (see the excursus to section 5.2), but now he seems to be distinguished from from his father. This could be seen as a climax of his characterization as young and impetuous throughout the *Sack of Ilion* (Miguélez-Cavero 2013, 25–26 and 450).

ing sacrilege elsewhere during the Sack.[65] Ilioneus' case, on the other hand, rather seems to relate to Vergil and Triphiodorus, at least in their common interpretation of *Iliad* 24. By extension, their sharp judgment of Neoptolemus could perhaps be transposed to Diomedes in the *Posthomerica*. As a result, the latter would be deemed a cruel hero, and Neoptolemus a merciful one.[66] However, the striking similarity of the answers of Diomedes (see section 6.2.1) and now Neoptolemus again brings nuance to the situation:

> "Ὦ γέρον, ἐμμεμαῶτα καὶ ἐσσύμενόν περ ἀνώγεις·
> οὐ γάρ σ' ἐχθρὸν ἐόντα μετὰ ζωοῖσιν ἐάσω·
> οὐ γάρ τι ψυχῆς πέλει ἀνδράσι φίλτερον ἄλλο."
>
> Neoptolemus: Q.S. 13.238–240

> "Old man, you are bidding one who is only too eager.
> As you're my foe I shall not leave you among the living,
> For nothing else is dearer to mortal men than life."

Neoptolemus shares a vision with Diomedes: neither will let an enemy live today. Moreover, Neoptolemus says that he is eager to kill Priam. Both facts imply that, regardless of the supplication, he would have committed the murder anyway. Therefore, there does not seem to be a moral distinction between the intended behaviours of Diomedes and Neoptolemus.[67] They both speak

65 Most explicitly during the Cassandra episode, in which Ajax Minor's punishment is explicitly foreshadowed (Q.S. 13.420–429; see also section 6.4). Boyten's suggestion that Cassandra's rape may be a substitute for Neoptolemus' traditional sacrilege (2007, 325–326) is perhaps a bit far-reaching, but this episode clearly suggests that Neoptolemus' way of action was, unlike Ajax's, forgivable in the eyes of the gods.

66 This is argued most emphatically by Boyten, who finds that the Diomedes episode serves as an *exemplum ex negativo* to brighten Neoptolemus' case (2007, 323–325 and 2010, 196–197). Miguélez-Cavero finds that, in comparison to Triphiodorus and Vergil, "QS modifies the tradition to preserve Neoptolemus' respectability" (2013, 449). Gärtner argues that Neoptolemus is not presented in a decisively better light, but at least more positively than Diomedes (2005, 238 and n. 60).

67 Despite this obvious parallel, Boyten maintains a rigorously different appreciation of the characterization of Diomedes and Neoptolemus (2007, 321–322). He argues that Neoptolemus' answer serves to "reinstate the hero's traditional ethic", after Priam's supplication has undermined his heroism ("by wishing to die, the old man, in a sense is not playing fair; he is robbing Neoptolemos of his thunder: heroes are supposed to take life, rather than receive it", ibid. 322). He finds an analogue in Achilles' answer to Lycaon, which also is "a particularly vivid articulation of the more usual heroic take on enemy etiquette" (ibid.). Although Boyten thus seems to approve of the Aeacids' eagerness to kill their enemies (elderly or not), he uses the same intertextual reference of Lycaon to disapprove of Diomedes' reac-

from the same heroic perspective, which clashes with those of their victims, even in Neoptolemus’ case. In fact, this heroic perspective is not only continuous in the episodes of Diomedes and Neoptolemus, but also in the rest of Book 13. As discussed above, Andromache’s attackers also acted from a legitimate—for the *Iliad*—point of view as they killed Astyanax for the actions of his father (see section 6.1.2) and captured Andromache as a prize. When this third episode is added to the discussion, we get a sequence of three confrontations between Achaean hero and Trojan victim, in which the Achaeans act each time from a similar point of view. The perspective of the victims, however, is different in every case.

6.2.3 *Three Victims of the Sack*

Andromache’s capture is also accompanied by a speech by the victim. Her lamentation starts as follows:

“Εἰ δ’ ἄγε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο δέμας κατὰ τείχεος αἰνοῦ
ἢ κατὰ πετράων ἢ καὶ πυρὶ αἶψα βάλεσθε,
Ἀργεῖοι· μάλα γάρ μοι ἀάσπετα πήματ’ ἔασι.
Καὶ γάρ μευ πατέρ’ ἐσθλὸν ἐνήρατο Πηλέος υἱὸς
Θήβῃ ἐνὶ ζαθέῃ, Τροίῃ δ’ ἐνὶ φαίδιμον ἄνδρα,
ὅς μοι ἔην μάλα πάντα τά τ’ ἔλδετο θυμὸς ἐμεῖο·
καί μοι κάλλιπε τυτθὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἔτι παῖδα,
ᾧ ἔπι κυδιάασκον ἀπείριτον, ᾧ ἔπι πολλὰ
ἐλπομένην ἀπάφησε κακὴ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος Αἶσα.”

Andromache: Q.S. 13.272–280

“Hurry now and throw my body also
From this dreadful wall, from rocks or into a fire,
You Argives, for my woes are beyond all telling.
My worthy father was put to death by the son of Peleus
In holy Thebe, as in Troy was my glorious husband,
Who was everything to me that my heart could desire.
He left me then with one little son in our home,
In whom I took unbounded pride and entertained
High hopes, of which a malicious Fate has cheated me.”

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tion: “While Lykaon begs for pity as a former suppliant, Ilioneos plays the geron card” (ibid. 324). In this second case, the difference in age between Lycaon and Priam suddenly matters, and Diomedes’ refusal contributes to his negative characterization. Essentially, then, Boyten seems to judge the intention to kill every enemy, no matter whom or how old, positively for Neoptolemus and negatively for Diomedes.

Much like Priam, Andromache recalls her woes from the *Iliad*: she has lost her father (*Iliad* 6), then her husband (*Iliad* 22) and now also her son (*Posthomerica* 13).[68] Her continuous grief from the *Iliad* has now reached its climax, and she longs to die. Hence, this scene clearly relates to the previous one, as Priam's also related to Ilioneus'. Together, the three episodes could be read as a triptych of three victims of the Sack, each one with a different background, wish and fate: Ilioneus wants to live, but must die. Priam begs for death and dies. Andromache begs for death, but must live. Throughout, the Achaeans have stood their ground.[69] Their actions could be questioned, and particularly Ilioneus' supplication invites a reflection on the heroic implications of the slaughter: as mentioned above, he states that killing an elderly man will not bring a hero the same κῦδος as would victory over a valiant youth (lines 193–195). However, the juxtaposition of this scene next to another one, in which the hero acts from the same principle, but the victim expresses a totally different view, also seems to question Ilioneus' own position: old age is not necessarily a good argument to be spared. Whereas Ilioneus' plea tried to appeal to the hero in his own state of mind, Priam's arguments bring about a switch of perspective: both he and Andromache explain their death wish as a result of their own suffering. Focus is drawn to the victims, who both see earlier Iliadic fears come true and their grief increased in the Sack. It seems that both have anticipated, perhaps even expected this outcome. As they realize that the inevitable is happening, they look to death for a final escape—with varying success. Remarkably, the narrator concludes their respective episodes with a similar reflection. About Priam's death, he notes that "the glory (κῦδος) of man is never undiminished for long and disgrace (ὄνειδος) can quickly catch one unawares" (Q.S. 13.248–249). Andromache's death wish is inspired by that same awareness: "Life is shameful for those whose former glory (κῦδος) has been swallowed up by humiliation (ὄνειδος)" (Q.S. 13.287–288).[70] This gnomic statement

68 The murder of her son also happens according to Andromache's prediction in *Iliad* 24.734–738 (James 2004, 336).

69 Kauffman has reached a similar conclusion about the representation of heroes and their slaughter on the Posthomeric battlefield: killing (and mass killing) is largely accepted as what they do and are supposed to do (2015, 184–189). Although his study is deliberately limited to the battlefield books of the *Posthomerica*, such a conclusion could, in my opinion, be extended to the carnage of Book 13 as well.

70 In the two latter cases, κῦδος seems to be used in a more general meaning for the glory or renown of men, whereas Ilioneus in his plea explicitly applies the word to a specific battle connotation, hence more clearly implying the heroic connotation that has been discussed in section 5.2. This is another indication of the shift in focus from hero to victim

twice seems to voice a kind of more general resignation about the catastrophe that is happening: fortune is known to turn, and Troy has been known to be doomed to fall long before it happened. The only recourse Priam and Andromache have left is death.

In the triptych, Priam ironically could be called the 'lucky winner', for he is the only one to obtain the fate he has asked for. However, it does not seem to be Neoptolemus' intention to simply offer the old man mercy. As discussed above, he is all too eager to act according to his heroic principle, which prescribes that he should kill the old man anyway. The last line of his curt reply is particularly puzzling: "For nothing else is dearer to mortal men than life" (Q.S. 13.240). In this, the young hero plainly contradicts Priam's point of view, as if he had not listened to (or understood) the meaning of the old man's supplication. Between Priam's words and Neoptolemus' answer, something seems lost in translation. This may again enhance Neoptolemus' young and impetuous characterization. However, this awkward situation also clearly exemplifies the clash of two different views on life (and the Trojan War) that the Sack of Troy has brought about. Thus far in the war, honour-seeking Achaeans have fought home-defending Trojans. Both parties have always been represented in the light of their respective interests, for example by the larger focus on family values and the necessity of defending their home on the Trojan side (see also section 4.4.3 and Chapter 5).[71]

In *Posthomerica* 13, these two interests clash in the most direct and physical way, with the Achaeans penetrating into the very homes of Troy. Inevitably, such a clash evokes a considerable amount of pathos, and the *Posthomerica* has not steered away from it thus far—on the contrary. However, in contrast to other versions such as Vergil's and Triphiodorus', Quintus seems to avoid explicit (moral) judgment of the situation.[72] Rather, he focuses on continuity with Homer, both for the heroic perspective of the Achaeans and that of

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that the words of Priam and Andromache bring about. Together, these are the only three occurrences of the word κῦδος in Book 13.

71 Interestingly, even Book 13 continues to celebrate 'homely virtues' of the Trojans, such as Antenor's hospitality and Aeneas' piteous choice to save family instead of riches (Q.S. 13.344–349). These form the subject of the two individual episodes following Andromache's capture (Q.S. 13.291–299 and 300–353, respectively). See also section 6.3.1.

72 Gärtner analyses the rather nuanced outcome for both sides in Quintus' version of Priam's death (2005, 239). Boyten also finds that the global focus on pathos need not necessarily have repercussions on the representation of the heroes, but only applies this to Neoptolemus in the Priam scene (2007, 321, 323). In my opinion, such a view could be expanded to the three episodes discussed in this section, and perhaps even beyond those, to the rest of Book 13.

the Trojan victims. Although such points of view may clash and, when brought together as explicitly as in Book 13, evoke conflicting appreciations, it should be remembered that this ambivalence is also an essential part of the *Iliad* and of our understanding of that epic. As is often observed, the more pathetic episodes in the *Iliad* could be interpreted in extremely different, even contrasting ways. All in all, the *Iliad* as a whole, and particularly scenes such as those of Lycaon or Simoeisius, could serve either cause: to condemn war or to glorify its heroic ideals. Kauffman uses this observation as the introduction to his PhD dissertation on Homeric death scenes and their reception:

> Indeed, one's interpretation of these deaths depends to a large extent on one's interpretation of the poem's presentation of war, an even more troublesome issue: the Iliad has been taken variously as a condemnation of war and the violence it does to and in humans and human society, or as a celebration of war, a recommendation of 'the military life,' and even a poem that can itself foment war. The deaths of the poem have been taken, accordingly, in very different ways. Sometimes they are read as tragic, evidence of the horror and painfulness of war: the description of the death of Simoesios, according to this reading, is designed to make it seem horrible, wasteful, regrettable. Alternately, they can be seen as ennobling the fallen, drawing attention to their death and life and thus heroizing them: in this view, the poet's description of Simoeisios' death makes that death meaningful, even something to be aspired to, in that it preserves an image of him as grand and beautiful, dying a death that is worthy of a hero. The same deaths, then, can be taken as either questioning or affirming the "heroic code" of the epic, or, more subtly, as probing or complicating it.[73]
>
> 2015, 2

Hence, Quintus' representation of the Sack, and some of its most famous victims in particular, seems to relate as closely as possible to Homeric expectations. As such, the relentless murder of Diomedes, the awkward confrontation of Priam and Neoptolemus, or the pathetic undertone of Andromache's capture should perhaps be expected.

73 See also Schein's chapter 3 on "war, death, and heroism" in the *Iliad* (1984, 67 ff.).

6.3 Why Sack a City?

6.3.1 *Is It Right?*

The episodes of Ilioneus, Priam, Astyanax and Andromache may well be understood as key passages in the Sack. Not only does the triptych contain a few of the most famous (and necessary) episodes of the fall of Troy, together, these characters might even represent Troy on a more abstract level: after the appearance of the unknown character 'Ilion'-eus,[74] Priam, Hector's wife and Astyanax could symbolize the three generations of Troy.[75] Their triptych is followed by four more individual episodes, another general 'tableau' and three final individual cases. Along the road, reflections about the cause of the Sack, or the reasons the Achaeans have caused it, become more explicit.

The first two episodes after Andromache provide remarkable examples of Trojans that are spared. Twice, the Achaeans appear to respect a certain virtue of the potential victim and follow θέμις ('right', 'justice') by not killing him. First, they spare Antenor, "thereby respecting a true friend and all-seeing Themis" (Q.S. 13.299), in return for his former hospitality to Odysseus and Menelaus. Next, Calchas warns the other Achaeans not to harm Aeneas. Not only is it "his right (θέμις) to join the ranks of the immortals" (Calchas: Q.S. 13.342), the priest also praises Aeneas' current behaviour: "Another reason why we should not lay hands on this man is that in preference to gold or any other possessions (…) he has preferred his father and his son. This one night has shown us a son who is wonderfully kind to his aged father as well as a parent above reproach" (Q.S. 13.344–349).[76] Both examples indicate that even the Sack is subject to certain values and (religious) virtues that must be respected.[77] In the next episode,

74 See also footnote 53.

75 For the symbolism of Priam, Hector and Astyanax in the Sack, see Boyten (2010, 167) and Miguélez-Cavero (2013, 448). Gärtner also calls the episodes of Priam and Andromache "den Höhepunkt der Schlacht" (2005, 236).

76 Unlike with Antenor, the Achaeans first do try to hit Aeneas, but Aphrodite shields him until Calchas intervenes with his speech (Q.S. 13.326–332). In the end, the Achaeans twice respect arguments about themis and family values. Calchas' role in this episode is not attested elsewhere (James 2004, 337; Ozbek has tackled the added value of this innovation for Aeneas' characterization: forthcoming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*).

77 Themis can probably be identified with Justice in this case (James 2004, 330; for thoroughly Maciver 2012b, 60–61 and below). According to Vian, there are three instances of personified Themis in the *Posthomerica* (on a total of eighteen occurrences of the word θέμις in the *Book*): two in Book 13 (above in the Antenor passage and below in Menelaus' speech), and one in Book 8, where Zeus punishes a lack of respect for Θέμις with his thunderbolt (Q.S. 8.73). Besides those, the goddess Themis also appears in Book 12 to stop the *theomachy* (Q.S. 12.202), threatening destructive punishment by Zeus (Q.S. 12.206–

Themis will also be invoked (for the third and last time in Book 13) by Menelaus, when he encounters those who have caused the Trojan War in the first place: Helen and (for want of Paris) her new husband, Deiphobus.[78] The latter is still suffering from the consequences of too much wine (καρηβαρέοντα, Q.S. 13.355) when Menelaus falls upon him and kills him with scorn:

> "(…) μέλας δέ σ' ἐδέξατ' ὄλεθρος
> ἡμετέρης ἀλόχοιο παρὰ λεχέεσσι δαμέντα
> ἀργαλέως. Ὡς εἴθε καὶ οὐλομένοιο πάροιθε
> θυμὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο κατὰ μόθον ἀντιόωντος
> νοσφισάμην· καί κέν μοι ἐλαφρότερον πέλεν ἄλγος.
> Ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ⟨αἶψ' ἀφ⟩ίκανεν ὑπὸ ζόφον ὀκρυόεντα
> τίσας αἴσιμα πάντα· σὲ δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλεν ὀνήσειν
> ἡμετέρη παράκοιτις, ἐπεὶ Θέμιν οὔ ποτ' ἀλιτροὶ
> ἀνέρες ἐξαλέονται ἀκήρατον (…)"
>
> Menelaus: Q.S. 13.362–370

> "Black Death has become your host,
> Now that in the bed of my wife you have met your end
> Unpleasantly. I wish that earlier I had encountered
> Cursed Alexander in battle and robbed him also
> Of his life. That would have given relief to my anguish.
> He, however, quickly went down to death's chill darkness,
> His just punishment. Clearly you wouldn't have profited
> From that wife of mine, because inviolate Themis
> Never lets sinful men escape. (…)"

Menelaus claims that he has the right to kill Deiphobus, and wishes he could have done the same to Paris, as a punishment (τίσας, and again τινυμένη in line 373) for what they have done to him. He acts according to Θέμις. A longer gnomic passage about her punishing nature follows in lines 369–373. Appar-

213). Finally, she is briefly mentioned in the story of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Q.S. 4.136). For a study of these personifications, see García Romero (1989a, 99–102) and Wenglinsky (2002, 85, 150). The latter defines her as "an embodiment and guarantor of right action".

78 The new marriage of Helen to Deiphobus is only indirectly foreshadowed in Hera's prophecy (Q.S. 10.345–346). Schmitz argues that this odd passage, describing several episodes of the Trojan War that are not otherwise discussed in the *Posthomerica*, serves as a 'metapoetische Funktionalisierung' by which Quintus voices his awareness of the huge, and richly various literary tradition in which he inscribes his own poem (2005, 123–125).

ently, then, the Achaeans follow Themis in both ways: to spare those who have earned it, but now also to punish those who deserve it. The entire Sack could be justified from the point of view of Themis. The main difference between this scene and that of Antenor before, however, is that this time, not the narrator but an infuriated Menelaus invokes personified Θέμις to justify his behaviour. One might wonder if—of all Achaeans—Menelaus' judgment would not be clouded by his personal emotions in this encounter. After killing Deiphobus, he indeed rages (μαίνετο, line 375) off to continue his slaughter, led by jealousy (ζηλήμων, Q.S. 13.376). However, the same passage of narrator text also asserts that he has Δίκη on his side:

> (…) καὶ πολλὰ περὶ φρεσὶ θαρσαλέῃσι
> Τρωσὶ κακὰ φρονέεσκε τὰ δὴ θεὸς ἐξετέλεσσε
> πρέσβα Δίκη. Κεῖνοι γὰρ ἀτάσθαλα πρῶτοι ἔρεξαν
> ἀμφ' Ἑλένης, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ὅρκια πημήναντο,
> σχέτλιοι, οἵ ποτε † κεῖνο † παρ' ἐκ μέλαν αἷμα καὶ ἱρὰ
> ἀθανάτων ἐλάθοντο παραιβασίῃσι νόοιο.
> Τῶ καί σφιν μετόπισθεν Ἐριννύες ἄλγεα τεῦχον·
> τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' οἳ μὲν ὄλοντο πρὸ τείχεος, οἳ δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ
> τερπόμενοι παρὰ δαιτὶ καὶ ἠυκόμοις ἀλόχοισιν
> Q.S. 13.376–384

> (…) His valiant spirit was filled with evil
> Designs against the Trojans, which the venerable goddess
> Justice accomplished. They were the first to commit the outrage
> Concerning Helen, the first to violate their oaths,
> The scoundrels, when, in spite of the sacrificial blood,
> They ignored the immortals in their perversity.
> So later the spirits of vengeance inflicted suffering on them.
> Some of them perished outside their walls and others inside,
> Amid the pleasures of feasting with their fair-tressed wives.

This passage could either be the narrator's confirmation of Menelaus' arguments, or possibly, but more implicitly, an extension of the latter's own focalization, voicing a justification of his own rage. Arguments in favour of simple narrator text seem to prevail, including the double mention of divine support for his actions (Δίκη and the Ἐριννύες), the transition in verse 385 that again mentions Menelaus as the topic of the next passage (ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ Μενέλαος), and the explaining γὰρ, that probably refers to Δίκη. On the other hand, the explicitly anti-Trojan tone of this scene attracts attention. This is unusual for the

narrator's recounting of the Sack thus far. Not only are the Trojans clearly identified as the guilty ones (Schmitz 2007, 72–73), they are also condemned in a remarkably aggressive tone, with the word σχέτλιοι.[79] In Triphiodorus, the narrator used the same word to condemn Neoptolemus for his deeds (*Sack of Ilion* 640, see above). The *Posthomerica* now seems to take the opposite stand, focusing on the Trojan responsibility for the Sack. Possibly, Menelaus' focalization sharpens the argument of the narrator in this passage. In any case, the bottom line of Trojan culpability is still perceptible throughout the rest of *Posthomerica* 13, albeit in more neutral wordings. Maciver, for example, links these two passages to the τις-speech of an impartial onlooker later on in the same book (2012b, 62–63). Before the climax of the second general 'tableau', the onlooker watches fire rise from the city and concludes:

"Ἤνυσαν Ἀργεῖοι κρατερόφρονες ἄσπετον ἔργον
πολλὰ μάλ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένης ἑλικοβλεφάροιο καμόντες·
πᾶσα δ' ἄρ' ἡ τὸ πάροιθε πανόλβιος ἐν πυρὶ Τροίη
καίεται οὐδὲ θεῶν τις ἐελδομένοισιν ἄμυνε.
Πάντα γὰρ ἄσχετος Αἶσα βροτῶν ἐπιδέρκεται ἔργα·
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀκλέα πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀρίδηλα γεγῶτα
κυδήεντα τίθησι, τὰ δ' ὑψόθι μείονα θῆκε·
πολλάκι δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο πέλει κακόν, ἐκ δὲ κακοῖο
ἐσθλὸν ἀμειβομένοιο πολυτλήτου βιότοιο."
neutral τις: Q.S. 13.469–477

"Those stouthearted Argives have finished their great undertaking
After enduring so much for the sake of bright-eyed Helen.
Troy that was once so prosperous is now consumed
With fire and no god gave the help that was desired.
All mortals' affairs are watched by irresistible Fate.[80]
Many undistinguished and inconspicuous things
Are raised to glory, while the exalted are brought to little.
Often out of good comes evil and from evil
Something good with the changes of our harsh life."

79 This is a rare word in Quintus. In Book 13, it occurs twice: in this passage, and in the drunken τις-speech of one of the Trojans at the beginning, to scorn the Achaeans (Q.S. 13.16).

80 The passive translation of James diminishes the quite active role attributed to Αἶσα in the Greek text.

Maciver convincingly argues that throughout the *Posthomerica*, a connection between Themis, Dike and Aisa is established.[81] Their appearance in the three quoted passages could therefore serve as an increasing confirmation of the same message, namely that the Trojans are to blame for their own undoing (Maciver 2012b, 60–63). However, the τις-speech is also decisively more moderate in its wordings than the passage of narrator text (possibly inspired by Menelaus' own rage) above. The impartial observer mainly states, in a rather neutral fashion, that the Achaeans have accomplished their mission and that Fate is fulfilled. The speech ends with an extensive reflection on the rise and fall of glory, which recalls the two gnomes quoted after Priam's death and Andromache's capture. Rather than explicitly assigning blame, these passages seem to echo a global resignation to the turnings of fortune, about which nothing can be done and which was, in the three cases, expected.[82] The general τις reflection occurs only verses before a pair of similes, describing the fall of the city in cosmic and rather climactic wordings (a sea storm and a forest fire, successively: Q.S. 13.481–491).[83] All in all, then, the Trojans clearly could not escape the fate they had themselves provoked. The anger of the Achaeans seems justified, even if Menelaus is particularly enraged because of his personal involvement.

6.3.2 *How the Achaeans See It*

That Helen's abduction (voluntary or not) is the cause of the war is indeed a recurrent motif in *Posthomerica* 13. Besides the Menelaus passage, this is also implicitly repeated and confirmed in one of the final episodes of this book, in which Aethre, the mother of Theseus and a captive of the Trojans, encounters her grandsons among the conquerors and is happily reunited with her family. After a description of her lineage, Demophon and Acamas "remembered their own father, all that he did to Helen and how Aphidnes was sacked by Zeus the thunderer's sons" (Q.S. 13.518–520). Theseus seems to have created an indirect precedent for this sack by abducting Helen and causing the city

81 The same three passages are also linked together by Wenglinsky (2002, 345–346). On the hazardous question of Aisa and Fate in the *Posthomerica*, see also Chapter 7.

82 In Book 11, an anonymous onlooker in the mountains prays the gods (in indirect speech) to save the Achaeans. The narrator then reflects that Fate (Aisa) cannot be changed (Q.S. 11.268–282). This could perhaps be seen as an implicit preview of the eventual outcome in Book 13, which is observed with more neutral resignation by the impartial τις. As James notes, both passages are probably original additions by Quintus (2004, 338).

83 West notes that the latter image underlines the inescapable doom of the Trojans, hemmed in as they are by the fire (1963, 62).

of Aphidnes to be besieged in the meantime.[84] This could confirm the motivation of the Achaeans, Menelaus in particular. As he encounters his (in)famous wife in the sixth individual episode, the rage that possesses him (and that had made him kill Deiphobus just before) could—or, given the earlier episodes, should—have made him kill Helen on the spot. However, Aphrodite's timely intervention changes his jealousy into loving desire and stops his sword (Q.S. 13.385–402). This may save Helen considerable trouble, but not Menelaus, who cannot openly show this change of heart to the other Achaeans. A parallel to this situation could be found in *Posthomerica* 1, where Aphrodite's intervention after Penthesilea's death openly overshadowed Achilles' warrior identity. As Thersites had stressed, love is not compatible with heroic behaviour on the battlefield. Menelaus seems to remember this lesson, for he seeks a heroically acceptable way out. He uses the same ruse (δόλος, Q.S. 13.405) of reverse psychology as was used during the assembly in Book 6: by making a move exactly opposite to his real intentions, he hopes to secure the support of the Achaeans (see also section 4.1.1). In Book 6, Menelaus was secretly led by jealousy. His aim was to continue the war, and he therefore had to rouse the Achaeans after the deaths of Achilles and Ajax (Q.S. 6.32–40). In Book 13, he has achieved that goal. Now, however, he intends to hide the end of his jealousy. Hence, he assumes a pose of feigned rage towards Helen. Lifting his sword as if to kill her, he hopes to be stopped by Agamemnon—and he is:

"'Ἴσχεο νῦν, Μενέλαε, χολούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε
κουριδίην παράκοιτιν ἐναιρέμεν ἧς πέρι πολλὰ
ἄλγε' ἀνέτλημεν Πριάμῳ κακὰ μητιόωντες.
Οὐ γάρ τοι Ἑλένη πέλει αἰτίη, ὡς σύ γ' ἔολπας,
ἀλλὰ Πάρις ξενίοιο Διὸς καὶ σεῖο τραπέζης
λησάμενος· τῶ καί μιν ἐν ἄλγεσι τίσατο δαίμων."

Agamemnon: Q.S. 13.409–414

"Come, Menelaus, control your anger. You haven't the right
To put to death the wedded wife for the sake of whom
We've suffered too so much, contriving the ruin of Priam.
Helen is not the one to blame as you suppose,
But Paris for ignoring your table and Zeus the protector
Of host and guest. So heaven has punished him painfully."

84 Vian (1969 T3, 150 n. 1). For a more detailed analysis of the Aethre tradition, and her possible antagonism to Hecabe, see also Schubert (2007, 347–351).

Agamemnon pleads that Helen is not guilty. In fact, he was the first and is now also the last character in the epic to talk about αἰτία.[85] This creates another parallel between Book 13 and the rest of the Posthomeric war account.[86] If Helen is truly guiltless in the *Posthomerica* is not an unambiguous matter. After all, the narrator specifies that Menelaus forgets "all the wrongs that she had done to their marriage bed" (Q.S. 13.399–400). Further discussion of Helen's judgment will take place in Book 14 (Maciver 2012b, 153–171; see also section 7.1). Instead, Agamemnon now endorses the idea of Paris' guilt, which has been emphasised throughout the epic and particularly in Book 10.[87] Throughout this assessment of the situation, Helen herself remains silent. She will only plead for her cause in Book 14, for which see section 7.1.[88] Hence, the current interaction between the Atreids plainly renders the Achaean point of view that has led them throughout the war to this point of ultimate confrontation. Continuity with their earlier views and heroic standards prevails.

Also the repeated mention of punishment (τίνω, τίνυμαι) for Paris in Book 13 (first by Menelaus in line 368 and now by Agamemnon in line 414; a third time in a gnome about Θέμις that Menelaus applies to Paris, in line 373) can be connected to several other statements earlier in the *Posthomerica*: Achilles used the word in his flyting speeches to both Penthesilea (τίσεις: Q.S. 1.586) and Memnon (τίσομαι: Q.S. 2.448) as he promised to kill them; as Thersites was killed, an Achaean τις remarked that he has obtained his fair punishment (ἔστι θέμις and τίνυται, both Q.S. 1.753) for insulting Achilles; Achilles himself, upon his death, again threatened that the Trojans would keep paying the price to his spear, even after his own death (τίσετε: Q.S. 3.169), and Neoptolemus aims to

85 The idea of guilt in the word αἰτία is remarkably rare in Quintus. It occurs only five times: the sheep were not to blame for Ajax's disgrace (Q.S. 5.467), Odysseus was not to blame for Ajax's rage (Agamemnon's words in Q.S. 5.430 and Odysseus' words in Q.S. 5.582), the Achaeans are not to blame for Philoctetes' suffering (Q.S. 9.415) and now Helen is not to blame, but Paris. In three of the four previous cases, the actual blame was laid on the gods or on Destiny. In the fourth case, Ajax himself clearly still blames Odysseus (Q.S. 5.467). Arguments of human, divine and fatal responsibility were also the topic of Ozbek's contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2013.

86 On the parallel of Agamemnon's argument to Helen's own plea in Euripides' *Troades*, see Vian (1969 T3, 126).

87 For an overview, see section 4.4 and its footnote 163.

88 Vian finds that "la feinte de Ménélas et le plaidoyer d'Agamemnon, dont la présence n'avait pas été signalée auparavant, ne sont pas à leur place pendant le sac de Troie" (1969 T3, 126). However, this disambiguation of the judgment about Helen makes sense to crystalize the Achaeans' motivation of the war during Book 13, before judging her in the next book.

avenge his father's death upon his arrival in Book 7 (τίσασθ': Q.S. 7.604); after his fury in Book 5, finally, Ajax regrets that he has not been able to punish Odysseus (τίσασθαι: Q.S. 5.468). All of these occurrences are inspired by heroic pride and the subsequent urge to prove or safeguard heroic honour. Similarly, and with remarkable density, the same word is attached to Menelaus' own furious desire to avenge Helen's abduction. Hence, the speeches of both Atreids again confirm that the Achaean reason to sack Troy is in line with their heroic inspiration throughout the *Posthomerica*. From their point of view, the Sack is justified, and the Trojans must resign themselves to their fate, which could no longer be evaded, not even with help from the gods. This could conclude a book full of confusion. The Sack of Troy has brought about the real clash of Achaeans and Trojans. Harsh and cruel though the Achaeans may have appeared, their acts were still in line with their heroic principles and sense for atonement. The Trojans have been depicted as the tragic victims of a fate that was expected and seemingly deserved. All in all, Quintus has thus remained loyal to the *Iliad* and created a clear continuity throughout his own epic until this moment.

6.4 Towards Book 14: Unfinished Business

The Achaeans, however, are no avenging spirits. At the end of the day, they remain human. Regardless of Fate and justification, the Sack is and remains an example of human strife. This seems to be suggested in the very last words of Book 13:

> Δαρδάνου ἱερὸν ἄστυ κατήριπεν, οὐδέ οἱ αὐτὸς
> Ζεὺς ὕπατος χραίσμησεν ἀπ' αἰθέρος, οὕνεκα Μοίραις
> εἴκει καὶ μεγάλοιο Διὸς μένος. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που
> ἀθανάτων τάχ' ἔρεξεν ἐὺς νόος ἠὲ καὶ οὐκί·
> Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἔτι θυμὸν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ὄρινον
> πάντῃ ἀνὰ πτολίεθρον· Ἔρις δ' ἔχε πείρατα χάρμης.
>
> Q.S. 13.558–563

> Dardanus' sacred city fell with no help
> From great Zeus himself in heaven; to the Fates
> Even mighty Zeus's power must yield. These things
> Were either the work of the gods' wise will or not.
> Still the Argives' fury against the Trojans increased
> Throughout the city. Strife controlled the conflict's outcome.

The gods have been (virtually) powerless to prevent this sack from happening. This was also suggested in the neutral τις-speech: Q.S. 13.472. Moreover, Calliope has foreseen such an outcome in Book 3, when she consoled Thetis for the death of Achilles: "Don't you know that over every human that lives upon the earth there hovers irresistible Fate, who alone has power enough to ignore even the gods? It's she who soon shall cause the Sack of Priam's city with all its gold and deaths of men both Trojan and Argive, as many as she chooses. No god can hold her back" (Calliope: Q.S. 3.647–654). The Achaeans have been able (or allowed) to execute Fate. However, in doing so, they have not been infallible themselves. After causing the Iliadically inspired fates of Ilioneus, Priam and Andromache, after sparing Antenor and Aeneas for Themis, after Menelaus justifying his revenge (τίνω) by that same Themis, the Achaeans make a misstep. In the seventh individual episode, Ajax Minor rapes Cassandra in the temple and commits sacrilege (Q.S. 13.420–429). In contrast to the actions described above, this crime is explicitly condemned as it happens: Athena is resolved to have her revenge (τίσατο: Q.S. 13.424).[89] Although the power of the gods seems limited at the end of *Posthomerica* 13, there is a clear sense of unfinished business in the Cassandra episode, and the final words of the book seem to suggest a cliff-hanger of some sort. Indeed, in Book 14 the gods will make their comeback. Athena will be the first and only god in the epic to subject a mortal to τίσις.[90] In that particular scene, the verbs τίνω and τίνυμαι, as well as (for the first time in this epic) the noun τίσις, will recur no fewer than four times. Hence, Book 13 may have brought about the long anticipated fate of Troy,[91] but the story does not end here. The final reckoning must still follow, and it will more than equal the harm done to Troy. Troy has paid for Paris' crime collectively; similarly, Ajax's punishment will also affect a large part of the Achaean fleet. Indeed, only Eris knows where this will end.

89 On Athena's gaze during the rape in Quintus and other sources, see Ciampa (2012).

90 In Book 3, Apollo initially approached Achilles because he was struck by anger, but the verb τίνω never occurred there.

91 Schmitz notes a high frequency of what he calls 'retrospective prolepses', confirming that earlier anticipations have now come true in Book 13. Among these, he counts the neutral τις-speech and the lamentation of Andromache (2007, 71–73).

CHAPTER 7

Heroic and Divine Power

Tous les héros ne sont que des hommes[1]

Dawn sees Troy reduced to ashes. After the first pictures of the aftermath, Book 14 mainly narrates two major events: the sacrifice of Polyxena, required by a newly deified Achilles (Q.S. 14.179–329), and the departure of the Achaeans, overshadowed by a massively destructive storm (Q.S. 14.329–658). For Quintus, as for me, this book is a means to come to conclusions. In the aftermath of their victory, the Achaeans look back on a successful war, and forward to their departure. In doing so, they are twice confronted with unexpected divine power. Meanwhile, their victory is successively considered from the perspectives of heroic glory and of divine justice and punishment. After a brief overview of the Achaean celebrations (section 7.1), my chapter successively focuses on the two central scenes of this book. I engage in the discussion of the significance of Achilles' dream appearance and his request for human sacrifice (section 7.2) and consider the storm passage as an apocalyptic end, the seed of a new beginning and a statement about heroic and divine power (section 7.3). As becomes apparent in the diversity of previous scholarly studies on this book, the final passages of the *Posthomerica* are controversial. Several (sometimes even contradictory) approaches have been proposed.[2] Book 14 depicts both a potential

1 "J' attendais"—from the French musical *Robin des Bois, ne renoncez jamais* (premiere December 2013 in Paris; performed by M. Pokora).

2 The most important studies about (or that include) Book 14 have focused on Achilles' dream appearance, Polyxena and/or the significance of the apocalyptic storm. Carvounis focuses on the final scenes of the book (2007), and has written a commentary of the episodes of celebration, Achilles' apotheosis and the sacrifice of Polyxena (2005). The storm scene has been treated by André (2013). Boyten focuses on Neoptolemus' part in the sacrifice of Polyxena (2007, 326–333 and 2010, 199–202); Usener also incorporates this passage (2007, 402–406). Maciver discusses the characterization of Helen (2011) and the understanding of *Arete* in Achilles' speech (2007 and 2012b, 79–83). Finally, the question of literary influence and intertextuality is particularly varied in Book 14, ranging from Homer over clear tragic echoes to several possible sources for the climactic storm scene, including several Latin possibilities.

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climax of the celebration of Achilles' view of heroism and the most severe and all-encompassing punishment of another hero, Ajax Minor. These two episodes suggest contrasting retrospections to the heroic deeds in the previous books, invite an explicit comparison to the Homeric heroic world (as seen in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) and remind us that heroes are only part of a larger epic universe, in which divinity also plays an important role. *Posthomerica* 14 looks back on the Posthomeric, Iliadic and even pre-Iliadic events of the Trojan War and stimulates the transition towards the next episode of this collection of myths in the *Odyssey*. Quintus' engagement with both Homer's *Iliad* and his *Odyssey* is an important consideration in Book 14 and focus of this chapter. Otherwise, I primarily examine how this book forms a conclusion to the text-internal narrative of the *Posthomerica*.

7.1 The Morning After

The first 178 verses of Book 14 present us with the direct results of the Sack, in a narrative that stresses continuity with the events of the previous book and works towards a climax of contrasting emotions. Hecabe's first appearance in the train of captive women—the opening image of the book—forms a strong example of continuity with the Sack. She is extensively described in all the symptoms of her grief, which is caused by the death of her husband, the destruction of her city and her future servitude (Q.S. 14.22–29). This anguish portrays her as a victim similar to her husband and daughter-in-law in Book 13. Moreover, the lamenting Trojan women and children are then compared to pigs and piglets, taken from their old fold (σταθμοῦ) to a new one (σταθμόν; Q.S. 14.33–37). This simile recalls at once of the image of bloody pig slaughter (for Trojan men in Q.S. 13.127–129) and of the repeated comparans of a flock attacked in its own fold, both used to illustrate the massacre in Book 13 (see section 6.1). Helen receives further attention as an important causal factor of the war; however, Aphrodite makes sure that the beautiful queen has the same effect on the collective Achaeans as on Menelaus in Q.S. 13.399–401. Helen now also voices her own apology to Menelaus, pleading innocence and blaming Paris with arguments similar to those Agamemnon used earlier (Q.S.

The latter have been investigated by Keydell (1949–1950) and Vian (1969 T3, 167–175), and most recently Carvounis (forthcoming). Tragic sources form a substantial part of Carvounis' commentary (2005). As this chapter mainly focuses on Quintus' engagement with Homer in the final book, these other sources receive less attention. For remarks about potential Latin and tragic inspiration, see footnotes 58 and 89.

14.155–164; Maciver 2012b, 162).[3] The continuity with Book 13 is thus clearly secured. Simultaneously, this episode is now brought to its conclusion. On the one hand, Helen and Menelaus initially appear in a mixture of joy and shame (Q.S. 14.19),[4] and Helen's share in the blame is clearly underlined, for example in an iconic simile comparing her to adulterous Aphrodite, ensnared by Hephaestus (Q.S. 14.47–55). This is the only simile in the *Posthomerica* containing a gnome, about the shame of adulteresses. By adding a moral statement about Aphrodite's adultery, Quintus seems to judge Helen morally for her part in the Trojan War.[5] However, all the characters she encounters are willing to forget about the past, due to the intervention of Aphrodite. Helen's fear of the Achaeans' reaction (Q.S. 14.42–43; see also Q.S. 10.400–401: Carvounis 2005, 97) turns out to be ungrounded. They all marvel at her beauty, compare her to the homeland after a long and troublesome time away (Q.S. 14.63–

3 More on 'Helen's excuses' in the *Posthomerica* (and their relation to Homer, Apollonius, Vergil and the *Coma Berenices*) by Maciver (2011). He posits that Helen's lament for Paris in *Posthomerica* 10, where she only speaks to herself, may be more sincere than her current apology in Book 14 (2011, 695). Detailed analyses of Helen's guilt or blamelessness throughout literary tradition (e.g. Euripides' *Troades*) are also provided by Vian (1969 T3, 126–127, 157–159 for Euripides in particular) and Carvounis (2005, 150–166).

4 Τοῖσι δὲ δὴ Μενέλαος ἐνὶ μέσσοισι καὶ αὐτὸς | ἦγεν ἑὴν παράκοιτιν ἀπ' ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο | ἐξανύσας μέγα ἔργον· ἔχεν δέ ἑ χάρμα καὶ αἰδώς ("also one of that crowd was Menelaus himself leading his consort out of the burning city, his great undertaking finished but feeling shame with his joy", Q.S. 14.17–19). Although translations generally assume that both emotions apply only to Menelaus in this passage (the most affirmative include Way 1913, James 2004, Gärtner 2010, and Vian in his *notice*: 1969 T3, 158), one could wonder if the pronoun ἑ could not imply a subtle ambiguity, at least partially including Helen in this focalization. Maciver suggests that Menelaus' honour is affected by Helen's behaviour (2012b, 156 n. 109), and αἰδώς is indeed the emotion *par excellence* to describe Helen's current state. Helen's shame is mirrored in her physical appearance (she blushes and covers her face, Q.S. 14.39–47), and in the words αἰσχύνουσαν, αἰδομένη and αἴσχεϊ in the Cypris simile (Q.S. 14.49, 51 and 54). Moreover, five of the fifteen occurrences of αἰδώς in the *Posthomerica* are found in Book 14, four of which are (possibly) attributed to Helen (there is no doubt about lines 39, 47 and 55 in Book 14; also in Q.S. 9.144, αἰδώς had stopped her from watching the fight). Helen's αἰδώς is studied by Carvounis (2005, 99–100 and 105) and Maciver (2012b, 153–171, within the framework of Cairns 1993). In Homer, αἰδώς is used in relation to the 'triangle' of Helen, Paris and Menelaus (Carvounis 2005, 112). In Quintus, there is a contrasting parallel between Helen's adulterous shame and Penthesilea's virginal αἰδώς (Maciver 2012b, 144–149; see also section 2.1.3). All in all, the Helen passage shows more than one resemblance to Penthesilea's death scene, in which, besides αἰδώς, extreme beauty (e.g. the word ἀγλαΐην, used for Helen in Q.S. 14.59) and Aphrodite's active intervention also play important roles.

5 Maciver discusses this passage as a moral rereading of Demodocus' second song in *Odyssey* 8 (2012b, 153–171). Carvounis, on the other hand, concludes that Helen is represented as a prize, rather than a cause of the war (2005, 103; discussed in Maciver 2012b, 171 n. 181).

67) and are willing to forget their toil (οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτοῖς | μνῆστις ἔην καμάτοιο δυσαλγέος οὐδὲ κυδοιμοῦ, Q.S. 14.67–68). Finally, Menelaus explicitly reassures Helen:

> "Μηκέτι νῦν μέμνησ' ἅ τ' ἐπάσχομεν ἄλγεα θυμῷ·
> ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν που πάντα μέλας δόμος ἐντὸς ἐέργοι
> Λήθης· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε κακῶν μεμνῆσθαι ἔτ' ἔργων."
> Menelaus: Q.S. 14.166–168

> "Stop thinking now about the suffering of our hearts.
> Let that all be locked inside the black abode
> Of oblivion. It's wrong to keep recalling evil deeds."

Oblivion of past suffering thus seems to be a thread throughout the repeated appearances of Helen in the final books of the *Posthomerica*.[6] The return of Helen thus seems to be a logical end point of the war and a legitimate reason to go home.

Besides re-establishing Menelaus' marriage, however, the Achaeans also fought in this war with personal agendas, which have now equally been accomplished. Carvounis notes that in the *Iliad*, focus gradually shifts away from Helen towards the pursuit of glory as the epic proceeds. Hence, the Trojan War may have begun because of Helen, but "it is not (only) because of her that individual heroes are still fighting in Troy" (2005, 152–154). Both motivations are most certainly still at play in the last book of the *Posthomerica*. This is subtly implied in, for example, a description of the landscape (especially Xanthus) lamenting its φίλον δεδαϊγμένον ἄστυ (Q.S. 14.71), like the master of a grain field that is destroyed by hail. Several streams and Ida "shed tears of lamentation (περικωκύοντες) for the city of Priam" (Q.S. 14.84). Both the chosen words and the simile usually refer to death in battle.[7] Hence, it seems that "Troy [is] being lamented like a mortal hero" (Carvounis 2005, 124–130). The

6 Carvounis compares the *retrouvailles* of Helen and Menelaus to those of Odysseus and Penelope in the *Odyssey*. Together, these two scenes create a "tension between reviving and obliterating the past" (2005, 166). Both Λήθη and μνῆστις (quoted above, in lines 168 and 68, resp.) are *hapax legomena* in Quintus (ibid. 118).

7 Two plausible precedents for this image are the simile of the poppy or unripe cornstalk for Troilus' death in Q.S. 4.423–431 and the beheading of Priam like a ripe cornstalk in Q.S. 13.242–245 (Carvounis 2005, 124–125). For the corn comparans in battle (death) similes in the *Iliad* and *Posthomerica*, see Scheijnen (2017); also Kauffman for some of these images (2015, 162–165, 179–189 and forthcoming). For emotional response of landscape in general, see Fernández Contreras (1998).

narrative thus recalls the war and heroic battle that have achieved this destruction and which will bring the individual Achaeans much glory. Unsurprisingly, then, a lengthy scene is dedicated to the Achaean celebrations. The narrator recounts how the Achaeans sing ceaseless praise of Nike, of Epeius' work and of the individual heroes who have contributed to the success of the Horse in various ways (Q.S. 14.85–88; 101–114).[8] The gods are also praised, but divine emotions about this victory are obviously divided: "Despite their desire, they could not override Fate (Αἶσαν) (…). It wouldn't be easy to turn aside Fate (Αἶσαν) from her course even for Cronus' son himself, whose power is greater than that of the other immortals and Zeus is the source of all things" (Q.S. 14.97–100). Looking back on Book 13, the gods could indeed have done nothing to stop the Sack (see section 6.3). On the other hand, this passage has a—for the *Posthomerica*—unusually high esteem for Zeus' own power. Elsewhere in the *Posthomerica*, Fate is undeniably superior to Zeus, whereas the narrator now remarkably, if carefully, suggests that Aisa's power might be overruled by Zeus. Gärtner points out the tension between the authority of Zeus and Fate that is thus suggested (2007, 218–219 for this passage).[9] Maciver also discusses the rather unhomeric superiority of Fate to Zeus in the *Posthomerica* (2012b, 115–119; more recently Bär 2016, 221). In this particular passage, he reads "Quintus restating the power of the Iliadic Zeus here in the *Posthomerica*, but Quintus also emphasising that Zeus is (and was in the *Iliad*) unable, lightly as it seemed in the *Iliad*, to dispense with the destinies allotted to characters by Fate" (ibid. 117). Moreover, Maciver (in his contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2016) explicitly disagreed with Gärtner (2014, 99) where she emphasizes that in this passage, Zeus is almighty. I believe that this passage at least hints at a tension between both powers in the cosmic order.[10] The fact, moreover, that the most explicit doubt about their hierarchy is voiced towards the end of the *Posthomerica* may well be significant for the final scenes of the epic. For indeed, Zeus has not yet played his last part.[11] In a flush of victory, the Achaeans address a minor victory prayer to him, in which they at once celebrate

8 The long passage in which Sinon receives his κῦδος (Q.S. 14.107–114) has been discussed in section 5.3.2.

9 Ibid. 239–240 for general observations; before Gärtner also more generally García Romero (1985, 103).

10 See also Bär: "Quintus intensifies the Homeric tension between the gods and fate" (2016, 227).

11 Although his exact relationship with Fate thus remains debatable at best, Zeus' superiority over the other Olympians is strongly established in the *Posthomerica* (Wenglinsky 2002, 47 and Bär 2016, 221–222). For the *theomachy*, see section 7.3.1.

their accomplishments and ask Zeus to grant them a safe *nostos* (anonymous speakers: Q.S. 14.117–119). However, without further explanation, the narrator comments that this νόστος will not be granted to all of them. It seems as if the Olympians, who were rather powerless in the previous book, still have something in mind for the victorious Achaeans, although further details are not yet provided. Simultaneously, the reader is reminded that the story of the Trojan War does not end with the Sack, but with the return home of the fleet, which will involve several more tragedies among the heroes now celebrating. In various ways, *Posthomerica* 14 indeed prepares the ground for the *Odyssey* (see below). For now, the Achaeans continue their celebrations (εἰλαπίνῃ: line 105, δαίνυντο: line 141, δαινυμένοισι: line 143) completely unaware of the impending doom that now overshadows them (Q.S. 14.120–124). Thus, dramatic irony infiltrates the festivities and suddenly, although less explicitly and less ostentatiously tragically than at the beginning of Book 13, this feast reminds us of the dramatic banquet of the Trojans.[12] At first sight, both banquets still represent a contrast: unlike the Trojans, the Achaeans usually have good reason to celebrate in the *Posthomerica*. Today is no different. However, just as was the case for their defeated victims, their current exuberance will at some point be undone by an unexpected payback (sections 7.2.3 and 7.3; see also Shorrock 2007, 387).

Unaware of all this, the Achaeans sing of the greatest events of the Trojan War.[13] This indirectly rendered song of sixteen lines consists of a selective summary of everything that has happened in the Trojan War since Aulis, in chronological order (Q.S. 14.126–141). About half of the song (lines 134–141) lists the events that have taken place within the span of the *Posthomerica* (the deaths of Penthesilea, Memnon, Glaucus, Eurypylus and Paris, the Horse and the Sack). The *Iliad* is summarized in less than three verses (131–133), and the remaining lines (127–131) recount pre-Iliadic events, mainly Achilles' sack of multiple cities on their way to Troy, and specifically his victory over Telephus, Aeetion

12 For a general discussion of banquets in the *Posthomerica*, and the feast of Book 13 in particular, see section 6.1.1.

13 In total, the *Posthomerica* contains two (indirect) praise songs (discussed in this section). Their metapoetic significance (e.g. Nestor as the equivalent of the epic singer in Book 4) is discussed by Schmitz (2007, 81–83) and Boyten (2010, 128–130, 281–282). For the singing of praise as a matter of interest in Homer, see section 1.2.2. Quintus offers an explicit reflection on this in the speech of Calliope to Thetis: "And so in spite of your sorrow stop lamenting your son. Poets shall always sing of his glory and his prowess to people upon the earth, inspired by me and the other Pierian Muses" (Calliope: Q.S. 3.645–647). For the "poetologische Qualität" of these lines, see Bär (2007, 47). On the role of the Muses in the *Posthomerica*, see Tomasso (2010, 55–69; 55–62 for this passage).

and Cycnus. Achilles is clearly the central figure of the song (nine lines are dedicated to his feats of arms), and by extension the other Aeacids as well (both Ajax Major and Neoptolemus feature in lines 135–137).[14] This song has often—and logically—been connected to another (indirectly rendered) praise song earlier in the *Posthomerica*, namely the *laudatio* sung by Nestor during Achilles' funeral games (Q.S. 4.146–170). The songs differ in length and context, but are remarkably united in their overt focus on Achilles.[15] It is logical that Nestor concentrates on Achilles' feats of arms in Book 4. The latter's undeniable prominence in the song of Book 14 is significant: this is supposed to be a summary of more than ten years of warfare, and Achilles died before the end. The fact that he is still the undeniably most influential figure in the memory of the victorious Achaeans adds to Achilles' praise in no small degree. Even after his death, he cannot be forgotten as a major factor in the victory. I suggest that this song is especially designed to recall two things: first, how much of this victory is owed to Achilles (and his most direct peers, the Aeacids, whose characterization has always been and still is measured against the figure of Achilles, especially in the *Posthomerica*), and secondly, how Achilles' heroic activities are remembered in these successive episodes: he was a vigorous warrior with several 'mood swings' that all have defined his heroic nature,[16] and a champion who had a decisive impact on (nearly) every stage of this war. This remembrance of Achilles is a logical prelude to the evening episode, in which the big hero himself will reappear to Neoptolemus in a dream.

14 The only other Achaean hero mentioned is Philoctetes. The ruse of the Horse and the Sack of Troy are recounted without further mention of names.

15 Carvounis compares the contents of both songs (2005, 131–137). One of her main conclusions is that the focus in Achilles' representation lies more on his divine offspring (descent?) in Nestor's song, and more on his mortality in Book 14. Bär underlines the significance of Achilles' prominence in these songs (2007, 36) and suggests that the *Posthomerica* is "sozusagen eine weitergeführte Ἀχίλλεια oder Ἀχιλληίς" (Bär 2009, 142–143; 142 for the citation).

16 The song provides examples of the several 'emotional stages' of Achilles throughout the Trojan War. Carvounis mentions Telephus as a victim that "shows Achilles as an exemplary fighter capable of both wounding and healing his own enemies" (2005, 132). Aeetion, who was killed by Achilles but also honourably buried by him, provides an additional example (ibid. 148). Opposed to this is his μῆνις in the *Iliad*. Boyten notes that, in the *Posthomerica*, the word μῆνις is used in relation to Achilles only in this song (Q.S. 14.132; 2010, 131; see also Vian 1969 T3, 233 n. 5).

7.2 The Holy Father

7.2.1 *Winged Words*

During the night that follows the festivities, Achilles appears to his sleeping son "in the living form that was the bane of the Trojans and the Achaeans' joy" (Q.S. 14.181–182). These qualifications did indeed apply to Achilles as a hero on the battlefield (e.g. Q.S. 1.650; Carvounis 2005, 205). Achilles thus seems to appear to his son as the mortal hero he always was, but Achilles is no longer mortal. He will use a lengthy speech (the third longest speech in the *Posthomerica*, and by far the longest by Achilles) to both look back on a heroic life and claim a new divine status, vis-à-vis his son and most important heir:

"Χαῖρε, τέκος, καὶ μή τι δαΐζεο πένθεϊ θυμὸν
εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο θανόντος, ἐπεὶ μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν
ἤδη ὁμέστιός εἰμι· σὺ δ' ἴσχεο τειρόμενος κῆρ
ἀμφ' ἐμέθεν, καὶ κάρτος ἄδην ἐμὸν ἔνθεο θυμῷ.
Αἰεὶ δ' Ἀργείων πρόμος ἵστασο μηδενὶ εἴκων
ἠνορέῃ· ἀγορῇ δὲ παλαιοτέροισι βροτοῖσι
πείθεο· καί νύ σε πάντες ἐΰφρονα μυθήσονται.
Τῖε δ' ἀμύμονας ἄνδρας ὅσοις νόος ἔμπεδός ἐστιν·
ἐσθλῷ γὰρ φίλος ἐσθλὸς ἀνήρ, χαλεπῷ δ' ἀλεγεινός.
Ἢν δ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέῃς, ἀγαθῶν καὶ τεύξεαι ἔργων.
Κεῖνος δ' οὔ ποτ' ἀνὴρ Ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμαθ' ἵκανεν
ᾧ τινι μὴ νόος ἐστὶν ἐναίσιμος· οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς
πρέμνον δύσβατόν ἐστι, μακροὶ δέ οἱ ἄχρις ἐπ' αἴθρῃ
ὄζοι ἀνηέξη⟨ν⟩θ'· ὁπόσοισι δὲ κάρτος ὀπηδεῖ
καὶ πόνος, ἐκ καμάτου πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀμῶνται
εἰς Ἀρετῆς ἀναβάντες ἐυστεφάνου κλυτὸν ἔρνος.
Ἀλλ' ἄγε κύδιμος ἔσσο. Καὶ ἐν φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι
μήτ' ἐπὶ πήματι πάγχυ δαΐζεο θυμὸν ἀνίῃ,
μήτ' ἐσθλῷ μέγα χαῖρε. Νόος δέ τοι ἤπιος ἔστω
ἔς τε φίλους ἑτάρους ἔς θ' υἱέας ἔς τε γυναῖκας
μνωομένῳ κατὰ θυμὸν ὅτι σχεδὸν ἀνθρώποισιν
οὐλομένοιο Μόροιο πύλαι καὶ δώματα νεκρῶν·
ἀνδρῶν γὰρ γένος ἐστὶν ὁμοίιον ἄνθεσι ποίης,
ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι· τὰ μὲν φθινύθει, τὰ δ' ἀέξει·
τοὔνεκα μείλιχος ἔσσο. Καὶ Ἀργείοισιν ἔνισπε,
Ἀτρεΐδῃ δὲ μάλιστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι· εἴ γέ τι θυμῷ
μέμνηνθ' ὅσσ' ἐμόγησα περὶ Πριάμοιο πόληα
ἠδ' ὅσα ληισάμην πρὶν Τρώιον οὖδας ἱκέσθαι,

τῷ μοι νῦν ποτὶ τύμβον ἐελδομένῳ περ ἀγόντων
ληίδος ἐκ Πριάμοιο Πολυξείνην εὔπεπλον,
ὄφρα θοῶς ῥέξωσιν, ἐπεί σφισι χώομαι ἔμπης
μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάρος Βρισηίδος· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' οἶδμα
κινήσω πόντοιο, βαλῶ δ' ἐπὶ χείματι χεῖμα,
ὄφρα καταφθινύθοντες ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἑῇσι
μίμνωσ' ἐνθάδε πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, εἰς ὅ κ' ἔμοιγε
λοιβὰς ἀμφιχέωνται ἐελδόμενοι μέγα νόστου·
αὐτὴν δ', εἴ κ' ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπὴν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἕλωνται,
κούρην ταρχύσασθαι ἀπόπροθεν οὔ τι μεγαίρω."

Achilles: Q.S. 14.185–222

"Greetings, my son. Don't let your spirit be torn by sorrow
Over the death of your father, for with the blessed gods
I now share a home. So stop distressing your heart
On my account and fill your spirit with all my strength.
Be always the foremost Argive champion, yielding to none
In valor. In council, though, be led by those who are
Your elders. Then everyone will acknowledge your good sense.
Honor men whose constancy is above reproach.
Good men are naturally friends, as are the evil-minded.
If your thoughts are right, so too will be your deeds.
The goal of Virtue is never attained by the man
Whose thinking is not honorable,[17] because her trunk
Is difficult to climb and high up in in the air
Her branches extend. But those whose strength is combined
With toil will reap delightful fruit from their work
When they have scaled the famous tree of fair-crowned Virtue.
So cover yourself with glory and have sufficient wisdom
Neither to tear your spirit with grief because of misfortune
Nor to be too happy with luck. Show gentleness
Toward the friends you love, to your sons and to your wife,
Keeping in mind that human beings are never far
From the gates of their accursed fate[18] and the house of the dead.
The human race is like the grasses that flower,

17 James' translation of this word is only partially satisfactory. For further discussion on the significance of ἐναίσιμος, see footnote 35.

18 Vian understands Μόροιο as a personification. However, Leyla Ozbek has suggested to me that, in relation to the word πύλαι, this is rather unlikely.

> That flower in spring; some waste away while others grow.
> That's why you must be gentle. Now tell this to the Argives,
> Especially to Atreus' son Agamemnon: if truly
> They remember all my work round Priam's walls
> And all that I plundered before we reached the land of Troy,
> Now let them meet my desire by bringing to my tomb,
> Out of Priam's treasure, well-dressed Polyxena
> To sacrifice her at once, because my anger with them
> Is even greater than earlier over Briseis. The swell
> Of the sea I'll stir into motion, sending storm after storm,
> Until through their own folly they waste away,
> Obliged to linger here so long that, in their earning
> For a return, they pour libations to honor me.
> As for the maiden, if they wish it after taking
> Her life, I don't object to her burial at a distance."

This speech is one of the most controversial passages in the *Posthomerica*. In the first four lines, Achilles reveals his deification to his son and comforts him. Verses 189–194 instruct Neoptolemus on his behaviour in battle and in council and provide advice about reliable examples for the young hero. Then follows a description of the difficult path towards *Arete* (195–200), after which Achilles discusses another behavioural aspect: he encourages Neoptolemus to restrain extreme emotions and to be kind-hearted, in the light of man's short lifespan (201–209). In the same verse that concludes this suggestion, Achilles proceeds to give the message Neoptolemus must carry to Agamemnon: the Achaeans should soothe Achilles' increased anger with the sacrifice of Polyxena (209–216). Should they fail to obey, he will detain the entire fleet on the coasts of Troy until they concede (216–222). The speech is rich in the use of gnomes, intriguing choices of vocabulary and even a brief simile. Moreover, it relates to Achilles' views on heroism, war and life such as they were expressed in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It also contains a few clearly unhomeric features, including the mention of allegorized *Arete* and Achilles' deification.[19] Finally, the speech is unique in the fact that it explicitly (physically and spiritually) connects Achilles and Neoptolemus and in its position at the very end of the *Posthomerica*. Tradition sometimes includes Achilles or another figure giving fatherly advice to Neoptolemus after the war (e.g. Nestor in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* 495; references are provided by Carvounis in her forthcom-

19 See also footnote 52.

ing commentary). However, Quintus' version of the dream appearance seemingly involves a unique combination of other versions: in one of them, Achilles appears to Neoptolemus as the latter first visits his grave (the *Ilias Parva*). In the other one, Achilles appears to the assembled Achaeans after the Sack to claim Polyxena.[20] In Quintus' case, a third possible source of inspiration can be added, namely the appearance of Patroclus in *Iliad* 23 (discussed below). Quintus' choice to have Achilles appear to Neoptolemus in private, but at the very end of the epic, is both awkward and emphatic: though it is rather late for a father to provide his son with heroic advice, this late timing does offer a rich possibility to look back to the rest of the *Posthomerica* and summarize, draw conclusions about, or question certain threads that have been present throughout the epic.

Achilles' speech also makes a few (seemingly) curious twists which have puzzled scholars up through today. Much of this perplexity has to do with the central passage, in which Achilles defends moderate and kind-hearted behaviour. Depending on interpretations, this assertion could clash with the previous part of the speech (encouraging vigour on the battlefield) and the next part, in which Achilles requires the blood of a maiden to soothe his own anger. Rhetorically, these three parts (battle—gentleness—sacrifice) are connected by rather abrupt transitions, each time in the middle of a verse. Twice, the previous part is concluded with a brief summarizing statement ending in ἔσσο ("ἀλλ' ἄγε κύδιμος ἔσσο" and "τοὔνεκα μείλιχος ἔσσο"),[21] immediately followed by a new (seemingly) contradictive thought introduced with "Καί". Thus, Achilles seems to suggest a connection between both parts of the verse, and hence between the two possibly contrasting ideas expressed in them. Whether these ideas are in fact connected by contrast or, rather, by logical (or possible) association is discussed below. *Arete* is also a great matter of discussion in this speech. This specific allegory in Quintus has been examined from different angles, most recently with a focus on Stoic (various studies by Maciver)[22] and on Homeric heroic influence (Carvounis 2005).[23] Both tendencies are undeniably present

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20 This is the more common version, found in e.g. Euripides' *Hecuba* 37–39 (Vian 1969 T3, 159–160 and Carvounis 2005, 223).

21 This imperative occurs only this twice in the *Posthomerica*. The abbreviated form ἔσσ' is found twice in Homer, in exhortations for Telemachus: "ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ" (Athena: *Odyssey* 1.302 = Nestor: *Odyssey* 3.200). This ties in with the instructional tone of Achilles to Neoptolemus.

22 Mazza (2014, 15) against Maciver.

23 Earlier studies have been summarized by James and Lee, in their discussion of the appearance of *Arete* on the shield of Achilles (2000, 53–54). They mention e.g. Köchly (focusing on Achilles' choice for a brief, glorious life: 1850), Bassett (ἀρετή as a non-moral reference

in Quintus' epic, and in the scholarly readings of this complex speech in the final book, the versatility of different ideological frameworks applicable to the *Posthomerica* becomes particularly clear. Maciver's studies involve the most recent attempts to read the *Posthomerica* both in the light of Homeric reception and its apparent deviation from that model in several Stoic passages. In the conclusion to his most recent paper on the subject, he points to the incoherence of Quintus' ethical framework: "Quintus posits what is essentially a new type of heroic, Stoic ethics but in formulating the new philosophy on the shield of Achilles, he ensures that we are meant to read this Stoicism as actually something Homeric, as part of a poetic conceit" (2016, conclusion). In his specific study of Achilles' speech in Book 14 (see primarily Maciver 2007, 266 and 2012b, 79–83), which he strongly relates to the shield *ekphrasis* in Book 5, Maciver indicates a duality in which martial code and Stoic principles meet. One of his suggestions is that these messages could relate to different levels of the narrative, one specifically referring to the action within the *Posthomerica* and one incorporating more general messages for the reader (e.g. ibid. 80–81). The debate about the versatility of ideological frameworks in the *Posthomerica* has recently been fanned at the Quintus Workshop 2016, and the last word on this complex matter has not yet been said. In any case, the different readings that have been proposed thus far need not exclude each other. Most recent scholarship is more and more inclined to accept frictions, such as the one tangible in this speech of Achilles (Tomasso 2010, 172), as proper to the *Posthomerica*.[24] My own gaze on this intriguing speech is, as always, inspired by the heroic relationship between Achilles and Neoptolemus (in line with Carvounis 2005 and one level of Maciver's 2012b interpretation). Thus far, Neoptolemus' strong profiling as an advocate of Achilles' heroic beliefs has been a key issue in my interpretation of his character. In this first and only direct interaction between father and son in the *Posthomerica*, I therefore focus on how Achilles communicates

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to 'success': 1925a), Kakridis (moral allegory: 1962), Vian (1966 T2) and Byre (1982). See also section 3.3.1 footnote 92, for the allegory on the shield *ekphrasis*. For the relation of the shield to the judgment of arms, see section 3.3.2 footnote 128. For further references to the relationship of *Arete* in Books 5 and 14, see footnotes 29 and 32.

24 They may be a useful state of mind for Book 14 in general. More than ever before in Quintus' epic, Book 14 presents a confrontation between, and could even propose an opportunity for reconciliation between, Quintus' ancient Homeric inspiration and more contemporary influences. Both Achilles' speech and the apocalyptic storm passage (section 7.3) could be read in this light. Further reflections on this interaction of different ideological frameworks are provided in my conclusion. I would also like to thank Katerina Carvounis for sharing her personal thoughts on this matter with me.

those beliefs, by primarily taking into account his own Homeric and Posthomeric performances and putting these into relation with his currently altered state as a deified hero.

Despite Achilles' emphasis on his new divine status in the first few lines (discussed below), he dedicates the first part of his speech to instructions about heroic behaviour. Neoptolemus must take Achilles' strength for his own and always be the foremost in battle (Q.S. 14.188–190). This reminds readers of the repeated encouragement of fathers to their hero sons to "αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων" in the *Iliad* (Carvounis 2005, 193).[25] In council, on the other hand, Neoptolemus must cede to the elders (Q.S. 14.190–191); the Iliadic Achilles himself was not the best councillor either.[26] With these two instructions, Achilles also touches upon the ideal of being at once "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (*Iliad* 9.442–443), which Achilles himself has learned from his older mentor Phoenix. All in all, then, the education of heroes by their fathers (or older mentors in general) is a crucial aspect of the transmission of heroic beliefs in the *Iliad*.[27] Achilles now manifests himself to Neoptolemus as such a fatherly teacher.[28] He postulates his own κάρτος as an example for his son in line 188 and adopts a discourse that—for a few lines at least—clearly refers to battlefield qualities (κάρτος, πρόμος, ἠνορέῃ, possibly also τῖε δ' ἀμύμονας ἄνδρας, νόος ἔμπεδός, ἐσθλός), gradually evolving into a more general encouragement to 'do good' (the gnomes in lines 193–194). At the beginning of the *Arete* passage, the speech has ostentatiously assumed an instructive tone about good heroic behaviour.

The allegory of *Arete* takes a more generalizing turn (Maciver 2012b, 80–81), but can also be read in the light of (Achilles' specific view on) heroism.[29]

25 "Always to be bravest and preeminent above all". This instruction is given by Hippolochus to Glaucus, according to Glaucus (*Iliad* 6.208) and by Peleus to Achilles, according to Nestor (*Iliad* 11.784). See also section 3.3.1.

26 Carvounis points to Achilles' 'self-assessment' in *Iliad* 18.105–106: "I who in war am such as is no other of the bronze-clad Achaeans, though in council there are others better" (2005, 194). Moreover, Peleus' advice to Patroclus (still according to Nestor in *Iliad* 11) was to give Achilles wise advice as his elder (*Iliad* 11.786–789).

27 See also Carvounis (2005, 193). In her forthcoming commentary, she proposes an additional parallel to Aeneas' instruction to Ascanius in *Aeneid* 12.435–440.

28 See also Maciver (2012b, 272–273; discussed in footnote 32).

29 E.g. Maciver (2012b, 80 and n. 161; also in his reading of Nestor's speech to Neoptolemus in Book 12, ibid. 84–85). Further, an ambiguity in this *Arete* reference, apparently involving both a "non-moral, militaristic" message and "un aspect de l' ἀρετή du sage", is noted by Vian (1969 T3, 162) and Maciver (2012b, 83). Vian, however, finds Achilles' characterization, varying between harshness and gentleness, problematic (ibid.). Maciver's study focuses on the gnomic function of *Arete*, bringing nuance to earlier attempts to understand Achilles'

The word ἀρετή has a rather limited and specific use in Quintus. All eight occurrences can be related to Achilles (see also Carvounis 2005, 199–200 and Maciver 2012b, 75 n. 140):[30] Thersites scorns Achilles for forgetting his ἀρετή because of a woman (Q.S. 1.732) and Hera accuses Apollo of being jealous of Achilles' ἀρετή: "ἐπεὶ πέλε φέρτατος ἀνδρῶν" ("for he was the best of men", Q.S. 3.124). In Book 7, Phoenix likewise finds that Achilles is "ἀρετῇ (…) φέρτερος ἦεν | πολλόν" ("in prowess, he was far above me", Q.S. 7.651–652). To his subsequent exhortation, Neoptolemus replies that Aisa and Ares will judge his own ἀρετή (Q.S. 7.668). Also in Book 5, ἀρετή is essentially linked to Achilles: Odysseus describes his contest with Ajax as "a rivalry over ἀρετή" (Q.S. 5.592), not over material riches. Indeed, the shield of Achilles, which is at stake, is not only a richly decorated object, but also a symbol of Achilles' prowess, on which Mount *Arete* is the central depiction (Q.S. 5.50). This allegorized representation of *Arete*[31] is now recalled in Achilles' speech to Neoptolemus (Q.S. 14.195 and 200), and could therefore perhaps be understood as (an absolute form of) his heroic ideal. In the first books of the epic, ἀρετή has exclusively been associated with Achilles, on whose shield an abstract representation of this 'virtue' is depicted. The judgment of arms could be understood as a quarrel to settle his inheritance, both materially and (by extension) ideologically. When Neoptolemus arrives, he takes over both. In the final book of the epic, Achilles now appears to explain to his son the significance of the shield.[32] He

entire speech in the light of his quite specific choice for "'a short but glorious' life" in the *Iliad* (for an overview, see 2012b, 80 n. 163). Instead, he points at Wenglinsky's understanding of Achilles, both in *Posthomerica* 5 and 14 linked to *Arete*, as a general "paragon of virtue" (Wenglinsky 2002, 146, quoted in Maciver ibid.).

30 Maciver sums up five of Quintus' eight occurrences (leaving out the one in the shield *ekphrasis* and the two in Achilles' speech) as examples of the 'Iliadic meaning of the word' as "'prowess' in relation to battle", but finds that "we cannot restrict the sense of the *Arete* of the Mountain of *Arete* [in *Posthomerica* 5] to a non-moral meaning" (2007, 261–262 and n. 10). In his more extensive reworking of the same study (2012b, 73–77), he differentiates between occurrences indicating battle prowess in the narrow sense of the word and two occurrences where the word implies "another shade of meaning" as well (Odysseus in Q.S. 5.592 and Thersites in Q.S. 1.732).

31 About the distinction between 'arete' and 'Arete' in Quintus, Maciver states that "it is reasonable to expect (…) a close similarity in the meanings of the personified, and unpersonified, abstraction" (2012b, 78 n. 153). I only use a capital letter for the word for the two allegorizing passages in Quintus.

32 Maciver (2012b, 79–80). His studies of *Arete* in Books 5 and 14 also argue that "Achilles is the ideal secondary narrator to expound the allegory, because not only it was on his shield, but because he seems to have reached the top of the mountain of *Arete* himself, in reality" (ibid. 80). The scene of *Arete* in Book 14, moreover, he calls "the key explication

summarizes that *Arete* can be reached by κάρτος (the same trait was mentioned above as Neoptolemus' guideline), and by πόνος (Q.S. 14.198–199).[33] Finally, Achilles concludes this passage with the words ἀλλ' ἄγε κύδιμος ἔσσο (line 201).[34] Both elements seem to link the absolute virtue of *Arete* to the notion of heroic battle. The route to *Arete* is embedded in a larger exhortation about battle prowess, which Neoptolemus should pursue in the footsteps of his father.[35]

The next episode of the speech raises a new issue that might, but need not necessarily, contradict Achilles' words thus far. He advises his son not to dwell on extreme emotions, tells him to have a "νόος δέ τοι ἤπιος" towards friends, sons and women (or wives) and to be μείλιχος (Q.S. 14.203–204, 209). After all, Neoptolemus should keep in mind that mortal life is short, like the seasons of flowers (Q.S. 14.205–208). Here again, Achilles possibly looks back to the *Iliad*. The most famous reflection on vanity in Homer is Glaucus' comparison of human life to the successive generations of leaves (*Iliad* 6.146–149).[36] This is the opening of the same speech which the Iliadic hero concluded with his resolution to "αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν" (see above). Hence, Glaucus established a connection between the idea of human mortality and the heroic aim that had brought him to Troy.[37] The same thought was consolidated in his famous dialogue with Sarpedon later on in *Iliad* 12: "If once escaped from this battle we were for ever to be ageless and immortal, neither should I fight myself amid the foremost, nor should I send

of the *mise-en-abîme* in Book 5, and of the corresponding series of gnomai in the poem" (Maciver 2007, 272).

33 For further discussion of πόνος in this passage, and its relation to elsewhere in the *Posthomerica*, see Maciver (2007, 272 n. 61 and 2012b, 79–83). Further references to this study are provided in my section 5.2.

34 Κύδιμος is a rather common word in Quintus and is related to battlefield gear and heroes more than once. See also Carvounis (2005, 210). Maciver focuses on the more general connection of the word to κῦδος (2012b, 82 n. 186).

35 The fact that *Arete* can only be reached by those ᾧ τινι μὴ νόος ἐστὶν ἐναίσιμος (Achilles: Q.S. 14.196) has been interpreted by Carvounis as an extra appeal to mercy (2005, 207). However, I am convinced that, both in this passage in the *Posthomerica* (where ἐναίσιμος is a *hapax*) and its most clear intertext in the *Odyssey* (Calypso to Odysseus upon his release: "For my intentions are ἐναίσιμος, and the heart in my own breast is not of iron", Calypso: *Odyssey* 5.190–191), this specific adjective refers to a more general reconciliation with fate: 'to do what must be done' (in Calypso's case, to obey the other gods; in Achilles' speech, to follow the right instructions towards *Arete*). This is in line with the more frequent use of the word in Homer, and with Vian's translation of the Quintus passage ("savoir tenir son devoir").

36 For the occurrence of similar vanity reflections in the *Posthomerica*, see Scheijnen (2017). For the use of flowers rather than leaves in this passage, see Carvounis (2005, 212).

37 For further discussion of Glaucus' lengthy speech in the *Iliad*, see de Jong (1987, 162–167).

thee into battle where men win glory; but now—" (Sarpedon: *Iliad* 12.322–325; also quoted in section 1.2.1). Achilles himself, however, is the hero for whom the idea of mortality has been most influential in the *Iliad*. In Book 9, he explicitly re-evaluated his priorities: aware that he had the choice between a *nostos* or a short but glorious life in Troy,[38] he decided that mere warfare did not outweigh his chance to live (οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον, Achilles: *Iliad* 9.401), now that Agamemnon had refused to honour him as he deserved (*Iliad* 9.646–648). After Patroclus' death, he reassessed his life choices once more. Extreme grief made him forfeit his *nostos* and his wrath against Agamemnon to pursue revenge for Patroclus.[39] Moreover, Achilles regrets this choice in the *Odyssey*, stating that a long, infamous life would not have made him as miserable as Hades does now.[40] All in all, then, Achilles has spent his Homeric life (and death) reflecting on mortality (see also section 1.2). Repeatedly, he has allowed extreme emotions to influence his (mostly impulsive) decisions and in the end, he may even have regretted the result—according to Homer. All of this is bound to resonate in Achilles' current words in *Posthomerica* 14. Given his background in Homer, instructions about moderate emotions and gentleness may sound rather strange and contradictory from Achilles' mouth. However, it should not be forgotten that, while he clearly looks back to his own heroic experiences to instruct his son, Achilles no longer is that mortal hero. Deified, he now has the capacity to look at mortal life (including, perhaps, his own Homeric past) from an immortal perspective as well.[41] This passage does not give clear clues about Achilles' judgment of his own mortal life. However, it does give a chance for

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38 "For my mother the goddess, silver-footed Thetis, tells me that twofold fates are bearing me toward the doom of death: if I remain here and fight about the city of the Trojans, then lost is my return home, but my renown will be imperishable; but if I return home to my dear native land, lost then is my glorious renown, yet will my life long endure, and the doom of death will not come soon on me" (Achilles: *Iliad* 9.410–416).

39 While cursing his previous wrath, he instantly replaced that old anger with a new one: "May strife perish from among gods and men, and anger that sets a man on to rage, though he be very wise" (Achilles: *Iliad* 18.108–109). In the same speech he decided to choose a brief life and kill Hector (lines 114 ff.).

40 "Never try to reconcile me to death, glorious Odysseus. I should choose, so I might live on earth, to serve as the hireling of another, some landless man with hardly enough to live on, rather than to be lord over all the dead that have perished" (Achilles: *Odyssey* 11.488–491).

41 He may share the perspective of Apollo in *Iliad* 21, who also referred to the vanity of human life with the comparans of leaves: "Shaker of Earth, you would not call me sound of mind if I war with you for the sake of mortals, pitiful creatures, who like leaves are now full of flaming life, eating the fruit of the field, and now again waste away and perish" (*Iliad* 21.462–466). Moreover, Achilles' deification in the *Posthomerica* is in rigorous contrast with his Homeric character. See below and footnote 55.

reflection: Achilles' mention of human mortality recalls that Neoptolemus now walks his father's footsteps, but that the father himself is no longer mortal.[42]

Despite this intriguing new dimension, it appears that Achilles' advice to Neoptolemus is globally grafted onto the beliefs of his mortal time as a hero. This includes not only his exhortation to battle prowess and his suggestions about the council, but also his encouragement to be gentle. Indeed, even Homeric heroes have been known to be 'soft'—to a certain degree. In the *Iliad*, Patroclus is the hero traditionally associated with being μείλιχος (Boyten 2007, 331–333 and 2010, 201). Two of the only four Homeric occurrences of this word are applied to him, in the speeches of Menelaus (*Iliad* 17.671) and Briseis (*Iliad* 19.300), both *post mortem*. Interestingly, Briseis also laments the dead Achilles as her μείλιχος αἰών in *Posthomerica* 3.564. The Myrmidons, in the same book, found Achilles ἤπιος towards themselves (Q.S. 3.422–426; Vian 1969 T3, 162 n. 1).[43] Neither description should be surprising. After all, divine Achilles in Book 14 specifies that Neoptolemus should be ἤπιος and μείλιχος for women, comrades (compare explicitly ὃς πάντεσσιν ἴσος πάρος ἦεν ἑταῖρος: "[Achilles] had been gentle and to all alike a friend", in Q.S. 3.424) and sons (Q.S. 14.204). As a warrior, however, Achilles is explicitly ἀμείλικτος, both in the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*.[44] Carvounis concludes that "to the fierce behaviour of Achilles following the death of Patroclus is thus juxtaposed a more gentle behaviour that testifies to his μειλιχία and ἠπιότης, and the speech as a whole that the Posthomeric Achilles addresses to his son combines this double image of the Iliadic Achilles" (Carvounis 2005, 201). This division in 'moods' makes sense. After all, being gentle did not prevent Patroclus from becoming a feared warrior in the *Iliad*. Heroes may be gentle to their peers, but such behaviour may

42 Also in Maciver's interpretation, Achilles' deification and subsequent authority plays a significant role. Maciver states that Achilles has already reached his ideal and has been rewarded for it with a blessed afterlife (2012b, 81–82).

43 Mansur generally finds that Achilles has maintained his 'tender heart' in the *Posthomerica* (1940, 6–7). For more detailed discussion, see footnote 44. Lycaon's first capture, Telephus and Aeetion provide examples of a 'gentle', pre-Iliadic Achilles on the battlefield as well (see also footnote 16). Achilles' gentleness within the *Iliad* has been a great matter of discussion before: e.g. Schein (1984, 98–104 and 162, for its restoration in Book 24) and Zanker (1994; especially on his magnanimity, ibid. 127 ff.).

44 Achilles harshly (ἀμείλικτον) refuses Lycaon's supplication in *Iliad* 21.98. In the *Posthomerica*, he is the only hero described as ἀμείλικτος (Carvounis 2005, 254). The Trojans call him so for the first time during their assembly (Q.S. 2.25), and Achilles is said to pull the fatal arrow from his heel ἀμειλίκτοισι χέρεσσιν (Q.S. 3.83). Twice, Neoptolemus is described as υἱὸς ἀμειλίκτου Ἀχιλῆος (Q.S. 8.335 and 9.247). Finally, Polyxena is dragged to the τύμβον ἀμειλίκτου Ἀχιλῆος to be sacrificed (Q.S. 14.268). For the latter occurrence, see below.

not be useful to them in battle.[45] Hence, both 'moods' can be reconciled in the same hero, depending on his situation and environment.

Achilles concludes his education about good heroic behaviour halfway through the verse in which he starts to claim Polyxena. This sudden turn has repeatedly puzzled scholars,[46] exactly because of the surprising juxtaposition 'so be gentle, and now tell Agamemnon (to sacrifice a maiden)'. The final section takes up one third of the entire speech and thus seems to be Achilles' main reason to appear to Neoptolemus. The rest of the speech may well have built up to this moment rhetorically. Indeed, his request may not be as surprising as could be assumed on first sight. Initially, Achilles appeals to heroic reasons to ground his demand: in line with the victorious song of the Achaeans earlier on in Book 14, he recalls how much he toiled as a hero in and before the Trojan War (Q.S. 14.210–212). He then urges them to appease his anger, which has increased since the Briseis incident. The exact cause of that anger is uncertain. The ambiguous phrase "ἐπεί σφισι χώομαι ἔμπης | μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάρος Βρισηΐδος" (Achilles: Q.S. 14.215–216) could be interpreted as "I am still angry about Briseis, and even more than before"[47] or "I am even more angry than that other time, when I felt wrath about Briseis". In the latter case, the reason for his anger remains undefined. In any case, the mention of Briseis clearly recollects Achilles' own time as a hero in the *Iliad* and seems to create a continuity with that period. His destructive threats indicate that he would still go to extreme measures to make the Achaeans do his bidding. Thus far, little seems to have changed.[48] However, the difference with the *Iliad* lies in the exact nature of

45 Hector is the only hero called "not at all gentle in woeful war" ("οὐ γὰρ μείλιχος (…) ἐν δαῒ λυγρῇ", lament Andromache: *Iliad* 24.739). The word ἀμείλικτος occurs twice in the context of a refused supplication in the *Iliad*: once for Achilles (see footnote 44), and once for Agamemnon towards Peisander and Hippolochus. The Atreid's reply is introduced thus: "So with weeping the two spoke to the king with gentle words (μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν), but ungentle (ἀμείλικτον) was the voice they heard" (*Iliad* 11.136–137). As has been discussed in section 6.2, the refusal of supplications in the *Iliad* is an inseparable part of heroic battlefield behaviour. For an interpretation of μείλιχος from a Stoic perspective, see Maciver (his section "Posthomeric manifesto", 2016).

46 See Vian (1969 T3, 161), Guez (1999, 89) and Usener (2007, 405). My personal favourite is Combellack: "(…) 'For this reason be kindly.' None of this sounds much like Homer's Achilles, but the sentiments are hard to quarrel with. We can hardly believe our eyes, therefore, when in the very next sentence the ghost commands his son to arrange the sacrifice of the girl Polyxena and threatens to stir up terrible storms if the execution of this poor girl is not promptly carried out" (1986, 15).

47 James suggests this reading, but finds it implausible (2004, 342).

48 For a discussion of Achilles' wrath in the *Posthomerica* and its relation to the *Iliad*, see Tomasso (2010, 193–201; 196–197 for this passage).

those measures: he threatens to cause furious storms until libations for the *nostos* are poured to him (Q.S. 14.216–222). In this, Achilles clearly manifests his divine power,[49] and this has obvious consequences for the way Polyxena should be given to him: via human sacrifice. Hence, despite taking a rather heroic pose towards his son in his lecture, Achilles clearly embeds all talk about heroic and good behaviour in a discourse that underlines his own divine status. The circular structure of the speech supports this. Achilles has started off with references to his own person and new divine status. He then addresses his son in a number of exhortations about good heroic behaviour, which subsequently were illustrated by gnomic statements in (mostly) the third person. Now, he turns back to Neoptolemus with a new instruction (this time for Agamemnon) and ends his speech with references to his own, newly acquired divine power. As a consequence, although he may instruct his son from his own mortal experiences, there is a crucial inequality between both parties in this confrontation: not only is Achilles the mentor of Neoptolemus, he is also a god, talking to a mortal hero. From his new divine status arise new priorities. Polyxena should be killed on the tomb and the ritual should involve libations (λοιβάς). Her body can be rendered to the humans for disposal. This points in the direction of a true sacrifice, rather than a mere gift to the dead such as, for example, the slaughter of 12 Trojans on Patroclus' pyre (*Iliad* 18.336–337 and 23.175–183). Achilles requests to be honoured as a god. Moreover, he is quite a new god, and this is his first manifestation in the *Posthomerica* as his divine self. The Achaeans may well have been unaware of the deification until now.[50] The speech to Neoptolemus and the request for a sacrifice may well be intended to claim his position as a god in the eyes of the mortal heroes and request their acknowledgement of his new divine status. The mention of Briseis consolidates a clear link between Achilles' mortal life as a hero and his current immortal status as a god: he will be honoured as a hero, with a girl (Neoptolemus will call her his γέρας in line 240; see section 7.2.2), but also as a god, with a sacrifice. This may well be an appropriate way to recognize a deified hero.

In the light of Achilles' deification, I believe there are several arguments that explain the seeming contradiction of Achilles' exhortation about gentleness

49 Although Achilles underlines that he will do this himself, it will be Poseidon who stirs the sea for Achilles (Q.S. 14.249–250). For the power of Achilles in relation to the gods, see section 7.3.1.

50 Vian assumes as much (1969 T3, 186 n. 1), and with good reason. In *Posthomerica* 3.770–780, Poseidon had promised Achilles' deification to Thetis alone (Vian 1969 T3, 163 n. 3). In Book 9, Neoptolemus assumes his father is in Hades when he visits the tomb. Maciver (2016) traces Achilles' transition from Hades to blessed afterlife throughout the epic.

and his claiming Polyxena. From both a heroic and a divine perspective, anger is an acceptable emotion to safeguard one's reputation; note that χόλος or μῆνις were not mentioned by Achilles as emotions that should be restrained, but only ἀνίη and joy (lines 202–203). Moreover, Achilles advised Neoptolemus to follow steadfast men (ἔμπεδος νόος, line 192). Depending on the interpretation of ἔμπεδος, this might also apply to an emotional status of anger: Achilles, in any case, was quite unwilling to yield in his anger in the *Iliad*. Finally, gods (much like Achilles in battle) are also sometimes called ἀμείλικτος (Carvounis 2005, 213). In this specific case, the storm will subside only after the sacrifice. When the ritual is performed, Nestor will indeed observe an improvement in the weather conditions: "ἐπιπνείουσι δ' ἀῆται | μείλιχοι" ("the breezes that blow are gentle", Q.S. 14.343–344). Boyten thus concludes that Neoptolemus brings calm to the Achaean army, exactly by this bloody deed (2010, 202). As stated above, gentleness is only required towards certain persons. Polyxena, despite being a woman, is primarily a spoil and a token of victory and honour for the Achaeans (see Chapter 6 and section 7.1). If anything, Achilles does allow her a proper funeral (ταρχύσασθαι, final line of his speech) afterwards, which may be as much mercy as he can give in this situation.

All in all, Achilles' appearance to Neoptolemus enters into explicit dialogue with his own mortal counterpart(s) in the Homeric epics, and also invites a reflection on his former mortal perspective. For example, immortality is what most clearly distinguishes Achilles' spirit from Patroclus' in *Iliad* 23.69–92. Although the appearance of a deceased father figure to a younger hero in itself may intertextually hint at this Iliadic passage,[51] both speeches are marked by differences. Essentially, the two spirits each make a request to the living: Patroclus demands burial (*Iliad* 23.71–74), Achilles a sacrifice to be at peace. However, the overall tonality of the speeches is decisively different. Whereas Achilles starts by reassuring his son of his immortalization, Patroclus introduces himself as "οὐ μέν μευ ζώοντος ἀκήδεις, ἀλλὰ θανόντος" ("Not while I lived were you unmindful of me, but now that I am dead!", *Iliad* 23.70) and adopts a more lamenting tone. Hence, Quintus' dream modifies the focus from mortality towards immortality, with decisive consequences for the rest of the encounter. Patroclus is aware that his own life has ended for good ("for never more again will I return out of Hades", *Iliad* 23.75–76), and predicts Achilles' death as well (*Iliad* 23.80–81). Unlike Patroclus, Achilles has left Hades again—at least in

51 James points at the similar way in which both spirits appear in resemblance to who they were in the world of the living (2004, 342). Wenglinsky compares their discussions about afterlife (2002, 303). Guez also discusses the Homeric intertextuality in this dream scene, but focuses mainly on its inconsistencies and shortcomings in that respect (1999, 88–92).

Quintus. Achilles' transition from Hades to a blessed afterlife is essentially inconsistent with Homer's focus on mortality.[52] This extreme deviation grants Achilles an immortal life at the end of the *Posthomerica*, which, in turn, allows him to look back on his life without particular lament, and to focus on other things, for example instructing Neoptolemus.

It has been suggested that Achilles' appearance comes too late in the epic to function properly in the narrative. Vian (1969 T3, 159–161) makes a series of objections against the late timing of the speech, among them the fact that Neoptolemus should have been comforted by his father in Book 9 (during his first visit to the tomb), rather than in Book 14, and that the instructions given about heroic behaviour after the battle might ideally have come before the war was over. By now, Neoptolemus has already proven himself a valiant warrior and not so clever a participant in the council (remember Book 12). However, at this late stage in the war and the epic, there still is a future to look forward to. First of all, dreaming about Achilles will directly instigate Neoptolemus to call together an assembly in the morning and take the lead of the entire sacrifice, both in words and in deeds (see section 7.2.2). Hence, Neoptolemus will still have the chance to prove how he lives up to Achilles' words. Moreover, the seemingly tardy appearance of Achilles towards the very end of the epic provides an opportunity to reach a narrative climax, and at the same time to make a transition towards the next episode of the Trojan War saga, which is described in the *Odyssey*. In the Underworld, Odysseus will confirm to Achilles that Neoptolemus has behaved according to Achilles' expectations. Quintus' account of Achilles' Posthomeric speech seems to prepare for this conversation in the Underworld. The latter's instructions in *Posthomerica* 14 indeed match Odysseus' description of Neoptolemus in *Odyssey* 11 to a considerable extent. One obvious example is the recurrence in the two speeches of the word πρόμος, a *hapax* in both the *Odyssey* (11.493) and the *Posthomerica* (14.189; Carvounis 2005, 193–195). However, some of Odysseus' arguments in *Odyssey* 11 (including Neoptolemus' successes with Eurypylus and in the Horse) predate Achilles'

52 On Achilles' mortality in the *Iliad*, see Nagy (1979, 172–173) and Schein (1984, 91–96). Existing traditions of Achilles' immortality in relation to Quintus are discussed by Sodano (1947, 76–77), Wenglinsky (2002, 222–223) and Carvounis (2005, 185–187). Wenglinsky also discusses Achilles' (and Neoptolemus') blessed afterlife as a reward for their excellence (2002, 146–147, referred to by Maciver 2012b, 81 n. 165). Byre connects his interpretation of Achilles' afterlife to reaching *Arete* (1982, 191–195). Maciver critically discusses the mixture or traditions considering afterlife in the *Posthomerica* and concludes that "it is the representation of the Netherworld in the *Posthomerica* that really marks out this emulative Homeric epic as non-Homeric" (conclusion to his 2016 article). See also footnote 55.

instruction in *Posthomerica* 14. Conversely, if Achilles is deified in *Posthomerica* 14, he should no longer dwell in Hades during Odysseus' *nostos*. Paradoxically, the speech thus comes both too late and too early to fit into Homer's version. Quintus' Achilles looks back (in literary chronology) and forward (in mythological chronology) to *Odyssey* 11. On the other hand, Quintus clearly deviates from Homer with Achilles' deification. Therefore, Achilles' speech makes a creditable attempt to fit the *Posthomerica* into the Homeric puzzle (Carvounis 2005, 195, 201), while at the same time causing a certain friction with the continuum of Homer's version of the Trojan War.

In this complex web of paradoxes, one thing remains distinctively the same: both in Homer and in Quintus, Achilles is honoured "as if he were a god". As much is said to Achilles by Odysseus in *Iliad* 9.302–303 ("τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατόν, οἵ σε θεὸν ὣς | τίσουσ'"), and by Odysseus in *Odyssey* 11.484 ("πρὶν μὲν γάρ σε ζωὸν ἐτίομεν ἶσα θεοῖσιν"): in both cases, this honour is a reward for his heroic deeds. In the *Posthomerica*, Achilles will also be honoured as a god after his death: not only through similar words,[53] but also literally, with sacrifices and worship. This may be indicative for the central significance of Achilles in the *Posthomerica*, not only as a hero, but also as a power of heroic inspiration. Neoptolemus is undoubtedly its prime recipient. The son has always looked *and* lived up to his father's example. In Book 14, this inspiration reaches its climax in literal acts of worship: he acknowledges his father and everything Achilles stands for as divine, and—in the name of the collective army—offers him a true sacrifice. There is an essential difference in perception between *Odyssey* 11, where Odysseus is the secondary narrator, and *Posthomerica* 14, where the reception of Achilles' heroic inheritance is focalized by his inspired son.[54] The late timing of Achilles' appearance and apotheosis thus not only provide an intriguing synthesis of good heroic behaviour following the events of the *Iliad*, seemingly hinting at a continuity of his heroic beliefs in the *Iliad*, the *Posthomerica* and the *Odyssey*, but Quintus also works towards a climax of

53 Poseidon in Q.S. 3.778–779 assures Thetis that "κεῖνον κυδαίνοντα θυηπολίῃς ἐρατεινῇς | ἶσον ἐμοὶ τίσουσι" ("[The tribes] with desirable sacrifices [shall] honor him no less than me"). The dream appearance is described as Ἀχιλλῆος κρατερὸν κῆρ ἰσοθέοιο in Q.S. 14.180 (see Carvounis 2005, 204).

54 Given this difference in narrative situation, there need not even be a contradiction between Achilles' Homeric life in Hades—granted that Odysseus speaks the truth about meeting him in *Odyssey* 11—and his Posthomeric deification: no matter where the spirit of Achilles dwells after his death, on earth he will always be worshipped and never be forgotten, even if Neoptolemus' dream were only a dream, and Achilles still dwelt in Hades in reality (no indications of this are found in the text; this is purely an experimental afterthought).

worship at the end of his own epic. All of this is focalized from Achilles' point of view, and focused on Neoptolemus' reception of this heroic inheritance. As noted from Chapter 1 onwards, the characters of Achilles and Neoptolemus, the bloodline of the Aeacids and their heroic behaviour form one of the most ostentatious narrative threads throughout the epic. This explicit encounter between father and son provides not only a synthesis of the heroic beliefs they have followed and defended throughout the epic, but also a strong finale to their specific view and practice of heroism at the end of the Trojan War.

7.2.2 *A Heroic Sacrifice*

Come dawn, Neoptolemus calls the Achaeans to an assembly (εἰς ἀγορήν, Q.S. 14.234). This 'assembly' comprises only one direct speech, and therefore is not one of the four big Posthomeric assemblies, such as described by Schenk (discussed in section 1.3.2). According to other traditions, an Achaean assembly would have taken place more directly after the Sack, in order to decide—among other issues—on the division of spoils and captives, and to deliberate on Ajax's fate (Vian 1969 T3, 156–157). Quintus' assembly is, remarkably, postponed and focuses on Polyxena alone, highlighting the importance of Achilles' request and Neoptolemus' own leading role in both the sacrifice and organizing the assembly. It is the first time that Neoptolemus takes the lead in this kind of gathering. This situation is quite unlike his rather graceless participation in the first council in Book 12 (which he plainly disobeyed) and his second attempt not much later, in which he indeed yielded to the elderly speakers, specifically Nestor. This time, Achilles' private appearance has inevitably selected Neoptolemus for the privileged leading role in the sacrifice. He starts his speech to the Achaeans with exactly the same words Calchas used when he opened the assembly to send for Neoptolemus in Book 6: "Κέκλυτέ μευ, φίλα τέκνα μενεπτολέμων Ἀργείων" ("hear from me, dear sons of Argos firm in the fray", Q.S. 6.59 = 14.235). Thus, Neoptolemus not only assumes a leading function in the assembly, he also speaks with a kind of authority similar to that of the seer (Carvounis 2005, 231). Before advising the Achaeans in *Posthomerica* 6, Calchas had underlined his prophetic competence ("ἴστε γὰρ ὡς σάφα οἶδα θεοπροπίας ἀγορεύειν", Q.S. 6.60). Neoptolemus now implicitly takes over that position because of his unique relationship with his father. In this specific cult, the young hero seems better placed to take the lead and perform the rituals than the prophet.[55]

55 Quintus' deification of Achilles ties in with the practices of a hero cult, such as were prominent throughout antiquity (see also section 1.2.2 footnote 64). For Achilles as a cult figure in the *Iliad*, see Nagy (1979, 10).

Neoptolemus summarizes Achilles' words to the assembly (Q.S. 14.235–245). He omits the instructional part about heroic good behaviour and focuses on the first and last parts of Achilles' message, explaining his father's deification and request.[56] Although he thus seems to repeat only what is directly relevant for the entire army, Neoptolemus' words also betray that he has interpreted his father's speech in a heroic light: he calls Polyxena the "ἐκ πολέμοιο γέρας περικαλλὲς" ("this war's prize of greatest beauty", Q.S. 14.240). Terminology about glory and honour was notably absent in Achilles' monologue, but Neoptolemus seems to have read between the lines that his father seeks to consolidate his own heroic and divine honour with Polyxena's sacrifice. Obviously, the mention of Briseis in Achilles' speech could be detected as a major trigger for this interpretation (Carvounis 2005, 233). However, also the general tone of the instructional part could be interpreted in a heroic light, as argued above. It seems plausible that Neoptolemus has understood Achilles' entire speech in just that way, and thus attached the idea of giving his father a γέρας not only to the mention of Briseis, but also to the general appeal of heroic behaviour. Whether or not Neoptolemus' account of the dream holds the one and only key to its correct interpretation remains uncertain. However, it clearly emphasises that Neoptolemus has listened to his father from a uniquely heroic perspective. He is prepared to honour him both as a hero and a god, and is successful in convincing the Achaeans to grant his father divine acknowledgement: ὥς φαμένοιο πίθοντο καὶ ὡς θεῷ εὐχετόωντο ("his speech persuaded them and they prayed as though to a god", Q.S. 14.246). Simultaneously, the storm breaks and the Achaeans collectively exclaim:

"Ἀτρεκέως γενεὴ μεγάλου Διὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς·
τῶ καὶ νῦν θεός ἐστι, καὶ εἰ πάρος ἔσκε μεθ' ἡμῖν.
Οὐ γὰρ ἀμαλδύνει μακάρων γένος ἄμβροτος Αἰών."

Achaeans: Q.S. 14.254–256

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56 For a detailed comparison of Achilles' speech and Neoptolemus' recollection of it, see Carvounis (2005, 224–227). She sees this situation as a clear example of 'textual plurality'. Boyten attempts to fit Neoptolemus' rendering of Achilles' words into the young hero's idealized representation. However, his conclusion that Neoptolemus, by omitting more than half of his father's words and adding urgency to the message, "is also a diplomat then, who wants quick results", sounds at least partially tendentious (Boyten 2007, 328–329 and 2010, 199–200). Rather, the brief account highlights Neoptolemus' interpretation of Achilles' instructions, and only renders the part that is relevant to the entire army. Moreover, at this advanced point in the epic it could relatively safely be stated that a more extended speech would be atypical for the young hero (see also my section 4.3.1). Apparently, Neoptolemus' rhetorical skills have not changed after his encounter with Achilles.

"Truly Achilles was the offspring of great Zeus.
So now he is a god, though previously one of us.[57]
Endless Time can't kill the stock of the blessed gods."

This brief observation seems to consolidate Achilles' transition from hero to immortal in the eyes of the Achaeans. They immediately start for his grave, and drag along the requested sacrifice, Polyxena.

The description of Polyxena's anguish and Hecabe's grief may well be one of the most bloodcurdling passages of the *Posthomerica*, with a clear focus on pathos and grief, rather than on any brave resignation of Polyxena, as was the case in Euripides' *Hecuba*.[58] Quintus' version seems—again—to work towards a climax at several points. This becomes most apparent in the similes used to describe the entire process of the sacrifice. In the first image, Polyxena is compared to a moaning heifer, dragged away from its mother for sacrifice (Q.S. 14.258–262). As mentioned in section 6.1.2, the image of a calf and its distressed mother has occurred twice before in the *Posthomerica*: once for Deidamia (anticipated anguish, in Book 7) and once for Andromache (anguish that has come true, in Book 13). The latter image brought about a dramatic change in the situation of helpless characters as women and children, who normally witness war from the side-lines, but were dragged right into the turmoil of the Sack.[59] In Book 14, this last simile goes another step further. Instead of focusing on the captured mother, it describes the child about to be killed (see also Carvounis 2005, 240). As stated in section 6.1.2, the only child who is ostentatiously

57 James' translation is slightly interpretative here. More literally, μεθ' ἡμῖν implies that Achilles was 'among us', instead of 'one of us'. It seems important at this point not to overgeneralize Achilles' existential status on earth among mortals. Given the fact that he has received the special honour of deification after his death, it could at least be assumed that he was special among his mortal fellows. I would like to thank Silvio Bär for pointing this out to me.

58 Carvounis extensively compares Quintus' version to several tragedies, but primarily *Hecuba*. She generally argues that "Quintus departs from the Euripidean material to add to the *pathos* inherent in the fall of Troy and the lot of the Trojan women that is prominent from the opening verses of the *Posthomerica*" (2005, 228; see also ibid. 238–239, 257–264 and 284–286). In what follows, although not myself focusing on this intertextuality, I will repeatedly underline Quintus' tendency to resort to pathos for at least the Trojan side of the story.

59 This also recalls a simile in *Iliad* 20.403–406, where a bellowing bull is dragged to the altar to describe the warrior death of Hippodamas. It is not the first time in the epic that a weaker calf replaces the stronger adult cow in a simile (remember the use of the calf comparans for the Amazons in Book 1; section 2.1.2). See also the discussion of the cow simile for Andromache in section 6.1.2.

murdered in Book 13 is Astyanax, because of the anger of the Achaeans for his father, Hector. Similarly, the anger of Achilles now causes the sacrifice of the innocent Polyxena. After the image of the heifer, a second image directly follows, describing the maiden's tears as being like drops of olive oil falling from a press. The olive comparans has also been used in one of the battle similes for Neoptolemus, where a rich olive harvest represented the number of warriors he had already killed (Q.S. 9.198–202). Perhaps not coincidentally, Neoptolemus will also kill Polyxena.[60] Priam's death by the hand of Neoptolemus was also illustrated with a harvesting simile derived from a warrior context.[61] Just as in Book 13, then, the (upcoming) murder of a (defenceless) victim is illustrated by a simile that has its roots in images of warriors' deaths, and even mass death, on the battlefield.[62] Both similes thus again illustrate the awkward clash of battlefield heroes with a new kind of victim who will fall prey to heroic beliefs. Compared to Book 13, however, Polyxena's episode also evokes more pathos, because of her constant tears and panic.[63] This is even enhanced when her mother adds her own lament to her daughter's. Hecabe recalls all of her misery and vehemently curses Achilles: "ἦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς | καὶ νέκυς ἡμετέρῳ ἔτ' ἰαίνεται αἵματι θυμόν" ("Achilles, even in death, still gladdens his heart with our blood", Q.S. 14.298–299). Finally, she wishes to be swallowed by the earth with Polyxena, before losing her.[64] On the one hand, then, the lead-up to

60 Spinoula also notes that in the series of calf similes, Neoptolemus evolves from the bewailed calf (Deidamia in Book 7) to the man who kills the calf in Book 14. Whether this could be seen as a "change (corruption?) of the inexperienced and youthful Neoptolemus into a cruel killer in the war" (Spinoula 2008, 224–225) is debatable. Essentially, nothing changes in Neoptolemus' own heroic convictions about war: he was eager to leave for war and show himself worthy of the Aeacids in Book 7, and his impending deed in Book 14 will achieve just that.

61 See footnote 7.

62 Similes describing mass death and mass slaughter are remarkably more prominent in Quintus than in Homer (Scheijnen 2017). The Posthomeric focus in such similes is twofold: it draws attention to both the masses of victims and to their killers, mostly prominent heroes. See also Kauffman (2015, 173–189 and forthcoming).

63 The association of the olive press simile with Polyxena's tears has evoked rather emotional scholarly reactions in the past. Combellack, for example, finds that it "may well be considered Quintus' most atrocious simile, when he is describing the sacrifice of Polyxena near the end of his poem. Polyxena, simultaneously uttering groans and shedding tears, is compared to an olive press simultaneously oozing oil and squeaking as pressure is applied" (1968, 18; cited in both Carvounis 2005, 242–243 and Spinoula 2008, 229).

64 Further discussion of Hecabe's lament and a comparison to other female laments throughout the epic by Carvounis (2005, 264–265). Particularly the wish to die and/or disappear into the earth attracts the attention. Hecabe combines two motifs: the more common wish

Polyxena's sacrifice clearly continues in the same way as many of the bloody scenes in Book 13 did, and even reaches a sort of climax in pathos. On the other hand, however, the heroic perspective of the Achaean warrior is not forgotten. All in all, it is mainly the juxtaposition of these two perspectives that seems to reach its climax here in Book 14. During the same night as Neoptolemus' visit from Achilles, Hecabe has had a dream that gave her an ominous feeling about today. The fact that she has her dream at (approximately) the same moment as Neoptolemus establishes a clear parallelism between both dreamers, despite their differences in rendering and contents.[65] As Hecabe started feeling uneasy about the next day, Neoptolemus was dreaming about the necessity of the sacrifice. Hence, the irreconcilable perspectives of victim and hero are once again juxtaposed. Polyxena is the exponent of this situation: she is the last victim of the Achaeans, and her killing Neoptolemus' final deed in the epic.

Achilles casts a broad shadow over this entire scene, and he clearly is the causal factor of the sacrifice.[66] Polyxena is dragged to the τύμβον ἀμειλίκτου Ἀχιλῆος (Q.S. 14.268), some verses later even called the τύμβον Ἀχιλλῆος ζαθέοιο (Q.S. 14.304). The adjective ζαθέοιο clearly underlines Achilles' divine status. In fact, he is the only divine person described with this adjective in the *Posthomerica*. All other uses refer to 'very sacred places',[67] and once specifically the τρηχὺ ζαθέης Ἀρετῆς ὄρος (Q.S. 5.50). Somewhat later, Neoptolemus

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of women who have lost their protector to have died before him, and Laodice's specific desire to be swallowed by the earth in Book 13 (ibid. 282). Besides these elements, Hecabe's grief can also be read as an extension of her husband's despair in Book 13 (see section 6.2.2 and section 7.1). Hecabe's wish is partially granted: as the Achaeans prepare their ships, she will transform first into a dog and then into a statue that is brought to the other side of the Hellespont by the Achaeans (Q.S. 14.347–353). This passage is discussed in more depth by Carvounis (2014, 198–200).

65 More discussion on this dreaming scene by Guez (1999, 92–97). The fact that Hecabe's dream is only mentioned after the decision about the sacrifice gives the dream a tragic rather than a prophetic function in the narrative. For a discussion of the symbolism in the dream, see also Carvounis (2005, 261).

66 Boyten argues that the sacrifice may be committed by Neoptolemus' hand, but he is not responsible. He interprets the repeated focus on Achilles as the causal factor as an indication of Neoptolemus' reduced guilt and thus increased idealization in this situation (2007, 326–333). However, I do not believe that a question of blame or innocence is at stake here. From the Achaean point of view, Achilles' request cannot be ignored. From Achilles' perspective, the Achaeans have both the heroic and the sacred duty to honour him accordingly. Neoptolemus is willing enough to obey his divine father's orders.

67 Also in the *Iliad*, it is only used for the divine (Maciver 2007, 262 and n. 13 for references is Quintus and Homer). See also Carvounis' analysis of its use in early hexameter poetry (2005, 293).

starts the sacrificial prayer with the words "κλῦθι, πάτερ" (Q.S. 14.308). This is a divine invocation dating back to the early epics, used only four times in the *Posthomerica*: once for Athena ("κλῦθι, θεὰ μεγάθυμε", Q.S. 12.153), twice for Zeus (Q.S. 9.10 and specifically "κλῦθι, πάτερ", Q.S. 1.186) and this once for Achilles.[68] The words κλῦθι πάτερ thus evoke a puzzling ambiguity: initially associated with Zeus, they are reused by Neoptolemus to address his father. Thus, the young hero stresses at once Achilles' new divine status and his own close relationship with this new deity. The rest of this speech of five verses acknowledges Achilles' power and submits the Achaeans to the power of Achilles: they will perform the sacrifice and ask for a safe *nostos* in return (Q.S. 14.308–312). Whether this is granted or not is not mentioned, but as soon as the girl is killed and given to Antenor for burial, the storm is subdued. In a final simile, the blood flowing from Polyxena's neck is compared to the blood of a boar or bear that drips into the snow (Q.S. 14.317–319). Earlier on, Polyxena's skin had been compared to white ivory (Q.S. 14.271). Pigs have also illustrated the slaughter of Trojan men and the capture of Trojan women and children before (see section 7.1). However, the combination of boar and bear (ἢ συὸς ἢ ἄρκτοιο) also occurs in a battlefield simile in Q.S. 2.282–289. All in all, Carvounis detects a considerable amount of martial language in the final scene of the sacrifice, and in the description of Polyxena's death, she finds parallels to several warrior deaths earlier in the *Posthomerica* (2005, 285–286, 298).[69] Thus, she observes, "the heroic element that was characteristic of Polyxena in Euripides' *Hecuba* is (…) conveyed in the *Posthomerica* through the use of martial language. Yet the incongruity that arises from this conflation of battlefield elements and the representation of a helpless girl that is likened to an animal underlines the pathos in the narrative" (ibid. 286).[70] On the other hand, the Achaeans once again experience this situation from a heroic point of view. Whether or not the excessive pathos of the description also involves

68 See Carvounis (2005, 295) and more extensively Bär (2009, 482–483).

69 The idea of an innocent victim killed in a martial context could most closely be linked to Ilioneus in Book 13. Carvounis notes that "the incongruity that emerges from this use of military diction here underlines both the pathos and savagery of the present situation" (2005, 296). In line with my argument in Chapter 6, however, I would suggest a more conscious distinction between qualifications like 'pathos' or 'savagery'. Pathos and heroic motivation can also exist alongside each other, without requiring explicit moral judgments of the situation.

70 Schnapp-Gourbeillon argues that even this bloody scene of human sacrifice was not necessarily shocking to contemporary readers of Quintus who lived in an era that was accustomed to bloodshed (2006, 207). Still, the Polyxena episode is found at a remarkable climax of such descriptions.

a judgment of the events is once again hard to determine.[71] For the Achaeans, however, the desired effect is obtained. They can go home; at least, they think they can.

7.2.3 Nostos *Secured?*

The rituals for Achilles are well received, and joy reigns among the Achaeans as the storm calms down. Both Achilles and Neoptolemus have stressed the urgency of the sacrifice with threats. Neoptolemus talked about οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ('not heeding': line 243), a phrase which often describes human neglect of divine authority.[72] Achilles himself used the remarkable word ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ('presumptuous sin': line 218), rather rare in Quintus and used by Homer for deserved human suffering (Carvounis 2005, 216–217). These words suggest that the Achaeans have faced a real divine threat, but they have acted appropriately to avert it. After the sacrifice, they "quickly returned to their ships with exultation, praising in song the race of the blessed gods and Achilles" (Q.S. 14.329–330). A feast (δαῖτ': Q.S. 14.331) is prepared for the gods, and "a joyful sacrifice (θυηπολίη) for them all" (Q.S. 14.332). The word θυηπολίη is remarkable in this context: it occurs only twice in the *Posthomerica*. The other instance is found in Book 3, in Poseidon's foreshadowing of Achilles' deification: "The tribes that live around shall greatly glorify him and with desirable sacrifices (θυηπολίῃ) honor him no less than me" (Poseidon: Q.S. 3.777–779). The recurrence of the word enhances the obvious connection between Poseidon's prophecy and its current completion: in Book 14, Achilles' deification is realized. He has shown his new power, and the Achaeans have experienced and acknowledged it.[73]

After a new εἰλαπίνη (Q.S. 14.336), Nestor addresses the Achaeans: "Now is the hour of heart's delight, the hour of return (νόστος). Let's be off. It seems that[74] Achilles' powerful spirit has stopped its irksome anger and the heavy swell has been stilled by the earthquake god" (Nestor: Q.S. 14.340–343). The last word of his speech is again νόστος (line 345). This term has—unsurprisingly—been a thread throughout *Posthomerica* 14 until now (nine out of twenty occurrences

71 Boyten concludes: "Quintus does much to resolve the tension between excessive idealization, and excessive pathos. The legitimization comes in the form of a number of characters, including Achilleus, Polyxena, and the primary narrator" (2007, 331).

72 Carvounis (2005, 226; Homeric and Hesiodic intertexts: ibid. 234).

73 Further reflection on Achilles' power compared to the Olympians follows below.

74 In Greek, Nestor is more affirmative, using verbs like παύσατ' and κατέρυξε. This stresses the absolute conviction of the Achaeans, and especially of the oldest and wisest among them, that all is well now.

are to be found in this book). First, the Achaeans begged Zeus to grant them a safe νόστος (line 119), but were unaware that this was (at least partially) refused (again νόστος in line 120). As has been described in section 7.1, this introduced an uneasy feeling of dramatic irony about the Achaeans' fate. The Achaeans themselves, however, are relieved after successfully countering the warning in Achilles' dream: after the newly deified hero announced that he required libations before he would grant them a safe νόστος (line 220), Neoptolemus had successfully stopped the Achaeans' first attempt to depart (νόστος in line 231). Neoptolemus' speech to the assembly, just like Nestor's now, had ended with the word νόστος (line 312). The Achaeans thus collectively assume that the sacrifice to Achilles will guarantee their safe return. Two occurrences of νόστος in Book 12 seem to confirm this: both Odysseus and Sinon at some point pretend that Sinon was to be sacrificed "to ensure their return (νόστος)" (Q.S. 12.36 and 379). Hence, the idea of a human sacrifice to obtain νόστος has been implicitly present in the Achaean minds since Book 12—and so has its failure. The reader is still aware of Zeus' other intentions. This ominous feeling is enhanced when the Achaeans joyfully follow Nestor's advice of and finally prepare for their departure. Calchas remarkably refuses to follow their example: "He feared that a dreadful death was coming to the Danaans at the Kapherean Rocks. They, though, didn't believe him, because their minds were deluded by evil Fate (Αἶσα)" (Q.S. 14.362–365). Eventually, Calchas and Amphilochus decide not to join the rest of the army as the fleet sets sail, heavily loaded with the surviving army, their captives and countless spoils.[75] The libations they pour to the gods upon their departure (νόστος, line 380) and their prayers "were mingled with the winds and far from the ships were carried fruitlessly into the clouds and the air" (Q.S. 14.381–382).

Hence, despite their successful appeasement of Achilles' anger, the Achaeans, and with them even Nestor, are tragically unaware that some other threat is still overshadowing their return. The sacrifice of Polyxena is brought to a misleadingly euphoric conclusion by Nestor's optimistic words. Instead of safeguarding the Achaeans, it has only served as a diversion (Duckworth 1936, 74–75).[76] Calchas' real warning is largely ignored, both by the Achaeans and—seemingly—by the narrator, who attributes a insignificantly brief account to

75 These spoils are tied to the ships for open admiration (Q.S. 14.374–378). For this practice, see James (2004, 344).

76 Whereas the sacrifice was thus an important symbolic achievement for Achilles and his son, one could also wonder how—if at all—this worship has helped the Achaeans. Book 14 does not provide a clear answer, but seems to raise an implicit question about this nonetheless.

this event.[77] This underlines how inevitable their fate is. Interestingly, Αἶσα is mentioned for the last time when she lures the Achaeans into ignoring Calchas, whereas this is only the beginning of a most troublesome episode.[78] The seer particularly feared a disaster at the Capharean rocks. Indeed, such an event has been foreshadowed once before in the *Posthomerica*: in Book 6, Ajax Minor is not killed in battle, because he is to meet his doom in this very place, during his νόστος (Q.S. 6.524). In Book 13.423–424, the cause of his doom was revealed: Athena plans her revenge on him for the rape of Cassandra. By now, this is the only unsettled score left in the *Posthomerica*. To even it, the Olympians will now take matters in their own hands. When the word νόστος occurs for the last time in the epic, Iris is explaining to Aeolus just what kind of return Athena has in mind for the Achaeans (Q.S. 14.479).

7.3 Stormy Weather

7.3.1 *Better Not Anger the Gods*

"The Argives would all have reached the sacred soil of Greece, crossing the depths of the sea unscathed, had not Athena, Zeus the thunderer's daughter, been so angry (νεμέσησεν) with them" (Q.S. 14.419–421). Athena's *nemesis* has lasted for an entire book now. In *Posthomerica* 13, however, divine intervention was virtually absent.[79] Generally, there was a feeling of the gods being unable to alter the course of Fate, while the Achaeans rightfully punished Troy. Although their revenge may have been justified, Ajax Minor committed a new crime during the Sack. He was the only Achaean explicitly condemned for his behaviour in Book 13, and ever since, Athena's wrath has been imminent. As the Achaeans set sail, she finally approaches her father with her indignation:

> "Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὰ θεοῖς ἐπιμηχανόωνται
> ἀνέρες, οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἀνὰ φρένας οὔτε σεῦ αὐτοῦ
> οὔτ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ τίσις οὐκέτ' ὀπηδεῖ

77 Vian (1969 T3, 166) and James (2004, 340) refer to earlier versions, in which the departure of the Achaeans leads to more disagreement.

78 Κὴρ and the Κῆρες occurs twice more, in the middle of Ajax Minor's ordeal (lines 559 and 563). However, it is clearly Athena who is in charge of this situation, for she decides to postpone his death to prolong his suffering. The final occurrence of the word κὴρ is—according to Vian—not personified, and describes the general fates that befall various victims of the storm (line 611). Μοῖρα does not appear in Book 14.

79 Bar a few isolated cases of individual help, such as Aphrodite's protection of Aeneas and Helen.

ἀνδράσι λευγαλέοισι, κακοῦ δ’ ἄρα πολλάκις ἐσθλὸς
συμφέρετ’ ἄλγεσι μᾶλλον, ἔχει δ’ ἄλληκτον ὀιζύν.
Τοὔνεκ’ ἄρ’ οὔτε δίκην τις ἔθ’ ἅζεται, οὐδέ τις αἰδὼς
ἔστι παρ’ ἀνθρώποισιν. Ἔγωγε μὲν οὔτ’ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
ἔσσομαι οὔτ’ ἔτι σεῖο κεκλήσομαι, εἰ μὴ Ἀχαιῶν
τίσομ’ ἀτασθαλίην, ἐπεὶ ἦ νύ μοι ἔνδοθι νηοῦ
υἱὸς Ὀιλῆος μέγ’ ἐνήλιτεν, οὐδ’ ἐλέαιρε
Κασσάνδρην ὀρέγουσαν ἀκηδέας εἰς ἐμὲ χεῖρας
πολλάκις, οὐδ’ ἔδδεισεν ἐμὸν μένος, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
ᾐδέσατ’ ἀθανάτην, ἀλλ’ ἄσχετον ἔργον ἔρεξε.
Τῶ νύ μοι ἀμβροσίῃσι περὶ φρεσὶ μή τι μεγήρῃς
ῥέξαι ὅπως μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλοι
αἰζηοὶ τρομέωσι θεῶν ἀρίδηλον ὁμοκλήν.”

Athena: Q.S. 14.427–442

“Father Zeus, unbearable now are men’s offenses
Against the gods. They don’t respect either you yourself
Or the other deities, since punishment no longer attends
Those who are wicked. Often the good man is involved
In suffering more than the bad and has no end of woe.
That’s why there’s no more respect for justice and men
Have lost all sense of shame. I shall not stay on Olympus
Or any longer be called your daughter, unless I can punish
The sacrilege of the Achaeans. Inside my very temple
The son of Oileus offended me gravely by showing no mercy
When Kassandra raised her innocent hands to me
Repeatedly. He had no fear of my power, no respect
For my divinity, but did an intolerable deed.
Let not, therefore, your immortal will refuse
To carry out my heart’s desire, in order that other
People may tremble when gods display their displeasure.”

Athena reuses the words οὐκ ἀλέγοντες to voice a general complaint about the disrespect of humans for divine authority, and ἀτασθαλίῃ to refer specifically to Cassandra’s rape, which had been referred to with that term in Book 13 as well (Q.S. 13.429). This reminds us of Achilles’ own wrath earlier in Book 14, and suggests that his storm has not solved a major problem. Although Achilles now is deified, he is of course not as significant a god as the Olympians.[80]

80 After his deification, Achilles dwells in the Elysian Fields (Q.S. 14.224), which seems to tie

His right to dwell with the gods ("ἤδη ὁμέστιός εἰμι", Achilles: Q.S. 14.187, and also Q.S. 14.186, 224–226, 238) certainly does not give him the full power of an Olympian. What immortal privileges he has were granted to him by the grace of the gods, specifically by Poseidon (his promise to Thetis in Book 3 and Q.S. 14.250–251). Although his own words and some of the Achaean prayers gave the impression that Achilles himself could cause the storm (Achilles in Q.S. 14.216–220, Neoptolemus in lines 244–245), his threat had to be realized by Poseidon (e.g. Q.S. 14.249–250 and Nestor's words in 342–343). Nauplius, later on, also will rely on help from a major god (Q.S. 14.616–620). Hence, Achilles himself could not guarantee the *nostos* of the Achaeans (despite Neoptolemus' prayer in Q.S. 14.311–312). As the Olympians start their own storm, no further mention is made of Achilles. They have honoured his personal wrath by supporting the first storm, but now themselves enter the stage to settle a more important score. Athena observes that human wickedness is no longer punished, and that good men (ἐσθλός) are often even more doomed than bad men (κακοῦ). Her reflection is in fact not foreign to the *Posthomerica*. It holds a strong echo of the neutral τις-speech at the end of the Sack in Book 13: "No god gave the help that was desired. All mortals' affairs are watched by irresistible Fate. Many undistinguished and inconspicuous things are raised to glory, while the exalted are brought to little. Often out of good comes evil and from evil something good with the changes of our harsh life" (Q.S. 13.472–477, also cited in section 6.3.1).[81] In contrast to the earlier resignation about this observation, however, Athena now complains that this fatal arbitrariness also corrupts the humans' sense of δίκη and αἰδώς. After this lengthy introduction, she comes to the point of Ajax Minor. His disrespect for Athena's divine power should now be punished (τίσις). In section 6.4, I have observed that this is the first instance of divine τίσις in the *Posthomerica*. It turns out that it will not only serve as payback for Cassandra, but also as an example for other mortals (final line of Athena's speech). James finds this sudden generalization of Athena's wrath inconsistent (2004, 345), but Vian suggests Euripidean inspiration (1969 T3, 168 n. 7): At the beginning of the *Troades*, Poseidon and Athena plan the same storm: "Foolish is the mortal who

in with Hesiod's location of the ἥρωες (some of them, at least) on the Island of the Blessed (*Works and Days* 170–172). Carvounis notes that the Isle and the Fields were not always distinct notions throughout tradition (2005, 186). Nagy notes that both can be linked to cult sites (1979, 189–190). Bär suggests a bridge to the *Odyssey*, where (unlike in the *Iliad*), the Elysian Plain is mentioned (2016, 228).

81 Similar reflections were made by Nestor to the grieving Podalirius (Book 7), and by Odysseus, Diomedes and Agamemnon to Philoctetes (Book 9). For exact references and the Stoic (and unhomeric, or neo-homeric) implications of these *gnomai*, see Maciver (2012b, 119–123).

sacks cities and yet, after giving over to desolation temples and tombs, holy places of the dead, perishes later himself" (Poseidon: *Troades* 95–97). Kovacs interprets: "This generalization must be read in its context. The Greeks are foolish not for sacking cities (they had Athena's help in this) but for alienating their divine ally and thereby causing their own destruction" (Kovacs 1999, 25 n. 5). Wenglinsky points out that Athena's motivation is more personal in the *Troades* than in Quintus' version (2002, 184–185), of which André, in turn, underlines the moral function (André 2013, 31–38); Carvounis even suggests "the end of an era and the establishment of order" after the decline of mankind, such as in Hesiod's *Opera et dies* (2007, 241–247). It seems as if, after a lengthy inability to intervene in Book 13, the gods are now preparing their comeback. Athena's complaint about the general order, and the fact that Αἶσα is mentioned for the last time when luring the Achaeans into the sea confirms that it is now the Olympians' turn to have their revenge.

Zeus wholeheartedly agrees with Athena and gives her the use of his entire armour. His reply extends from lines 444 to 448 and marks the last dialogue in direct speech in the *Posthomerica*. This is the only dialogue between Zeus and another god in the *Posthomerica*. Hence, the dramatization of this encounter is rather emphatic (Carvounis 2007, 243 ff.). Athena adds his στεροπή, κεραυνός and βροντή to the αἰγίς, which itself "resounded as loud as the crash of lightning in the wondrous sky" (Q.S. 14.458).[82] Those weapons "no god can carry other than great Zeus" (Q.S. 14.459–460),[83] and as Athena sets forth, "the sky resounded, as when invincible Zeus goes charging into battle" (Q.S. 14.464–465). All in all, then, this scene evokes a clear transfer of Zeus' power to Athena, or an assimilation of Athena to her father's authority, symbolized by the latter's thunderbolt.[84] In fact, στεροπή, κεραυνός and βροντή are nowhere as prominent as in this final scene: together, the words occur 37 times in the epic, seven of which in Q.S. 14.449–558. Carvounis notes that, more than in Homer and

82 The Aegis thus seems to assimilate to the power of the received thunder and lightning. The word is in fact rather rare in the *Posthomerica*. Besides two occurrences in this passage, it is found only once in Q.S. 2.230, for the metaphorical αἰγὶς ὑποχθονίη that Achilles causes on the battlefield. As the symbol of divine power, however, it only occurs in Book 14. About the nature of this Aegis, see James (2004, 245).

83 The idea of a child being the only one able to wield his/her father's weapons recalls Neoptolemus' unique ability to handle Achilles' spear (section 4.2.2). In a sense, this final scene could be perceived as a divine counterpart of the most important heroic inheritance in the epic. This parallel could even be enhanced by the fact that the first storm in Book 14 was caused for Achilles' sake.

84 Carvounis (2007, 247). Since Athena asks her father's permission, however, Zeus himself remains in charge (ibid. footnote 21).

parallel to Hesiod, Zeus' supremacy in Quintus is ensured by lightning.[85] His authority over the other Olympians is only fully established at the end of the *theomachy* in *Posthomerica* 12, where Themis warns the rioting gods about Zeus' thunderbolt.[86] After this divine reconciliation, the gods will finally work together to re-establish divine authority in Book 14 (Carvounis 2008, 66–71 and Wenglinsky 2002, 186–187).[87]

7.3.2 *Titanic Stubbornness*

Once unleashed, the storm grows to enormous proportions and leaves the Achaeans powerless (ἀμηχανίῃ, Q.S. 14.497). In this collision of night, storm and divine power, there is no hope (Q.S. 14.505–507): πόνος δ' ἄπρηκτος ὀρώρει (Q.S. 14.518).[88] Men are thrown overboard or lie as though dead in their ships (line 525). Sea, sky and earth seem to merge into chaos.[89] In this swirling hell, Athena focuses on one specific mortal. She destroys Ajax Minor's ship and throws him overboard (Q.S. 14.532–547). This is only the beginning of a lengthy struggle against death that Ajax stubbornly—and, up to a point, quite convincingly—tries to win. His efforts and strength sharply contrast with those of the helpless people all around him. He holds on to a piece of wreckage and starts swimming. His force is compared to the βίῃ of a tireless Titan (Q.S. 14.550). Even the gods marvel at his prowess and strength (Q.S. 14.552–553). He struggles

85 See also the remarkable use of the epithet στεροπηγερέταο for Zeus in Q.S. 2.164, upon his first 'physical appearance' in the *Posthomerica*. Further discussion of this rare epithet by Ferreccio (2014, 104).

86 Both the *theomachy* (Campbell 1981, 57–59) and the prominence of Zeus' weapons at the beginning of the final storm scene (Vian 1969 T3, 194 n. 4) strongly echo earlier accounts of Giganto- and Titanomachies, the establishment of the first Olympian order, and Hesiod's *Theogony* in particular (Carvounis 2007, 247). This remains a theme throughout the storm scene, as is repeatedly noted below (e.g. footnote 92).

87 Iris is sent to Aeolus, who will join the attack with all his forces (Q.S. 14.466–491). Poseidon (507 ff.), Zeus (510–511) and finally Apollo (639 ff.) also have prominent roles in supporting Athena.

88 The only other time that the Achaeans were so powerless was at the end of Book 11. The final half verse of that book is identical: πόνος δ' ἄπρηκτος ὀρώρει (Q.S. 11.501; Vian 1969 T3, 197 n. 4).

89 André studies the hyperbolic and sublime character of this storm and its seeming assimilation to the anger of the gods (2013, 26–42) and compares it to Apollonius' crossing of the Symplegades (*Argonautica* 2.549–610; ibid. 7–25). All in all, there are several great storms in literature that could have influenced Quintus' (Vian 1959, 78–85), including Vergil (Gärtner 2005, 261–272 and James 2007, 150–151), Apollonius (André 2013) and Homer (the commentaries of James and Vian provide detailed references). See also tragic storms such as described by Aeschylus and Euripides (for the latter, see also below), or Seneca (Keydell 1949–1950).

against the wild sea, as lightning strikes all around him and Athena deliberately prolongs his suffering (Q.S. 14.554–564). Ajax Minor, however, draws strength from his ordeal, which even results in *hybris*:

φῆ δέ, καὶ εἰ μάλα πάντες Ὀλύμπιοι εἰς ἓν ἵκωνται
χωόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀναστήσωσι θάλασσαν,
ἐκφυγέειν. Ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τι θεῶν ὑπάλυξεν ὁμοκλήν·
Q.S. 14.565–567

He boasted that even if all the Olympians should combine
Their wrath and stir up all the sea against him,
He would escape. But he couldn't evade the gods' assault.

It seems as if the hero has indeed raised the collective rage of the gods: just like Athena at the beginning of this episode (line 421), Poseidon is now "filled with indignation" (νεμέσησεν, line 568)[90] as Ajax gets hold of a rock, and the god tries to shake him off. However, Ajax stubbornly holds on, and "he would still have escaped his evil doom, had not the god torn open the bowels of the earth and hurled a whole hill on him" (Q.S. 14.580–581). In one last extended simile, the hero is compared to the Giant Enceladus, whom Athena had crushed under Sicily (Q.S. 14.582–587). And finally, Ajax Minor is dead.[91] The representation of Ajax in his final moments gives the impression of a cosmic struggle between the Olympians and the Titans or Giants. Ample references to the past appear throughout the passage, through both intertextuality[92] and explicit comparison. Carvounis argues that both this and the emphasis on Ajax Minor's extreme power deliberately characterize the hero as an able—and thus threatening—opponent of the gods' authority. His isolated crime becomes, by its representation, an actual revolt against the gods, which the Olympians meet with united forces (Carvounis 2007, 250–254).

90 Hence, two of the only three occurrences of νεμεσάω are found in Book 14 and relate to Ajax Minor. For the importance of *nemesis* in this final storm, see also André (2013, 28–32).

91 About the narrative suspense that is established by retarding Ajax Minor's death, see Duckworth (1936, 75).

92 Vian (1969 T3, 172–173) and Carvounis (2007, 248–253). Besides Hesiod, they also point at possible similarities to Vergil's and Seneca's version of the same myth. On Seneca's influence, see earlier Keydell, who also underlined that Quintus' version of Ajax's death is exceptional in its combination of sources (1949–1950, 84–85). The end result is the most lengthy and detailed version of these facts in literary tradition (Carvounis 2007, 251).

As demonstrated in earlier chapters, Ajax Minor is not the only hero who is presented as 'larger than life' in the *Posthomerica*. This shoe also fits both Achilles and Ajax Major in Books 1 to 5 (see Chapters 2 and, especially, 3). Similarities are not only found in the general outline of their characterization, which focuses on their extreme strength, but also in the use of a certain type of mythological simile. There is a remarkable density of comparantia referring to Titans and Giants in the first five books of the *Posthomerica*, and most of them are used for Ajax Major and/or Achilles.[93] For example, when both Aeacids first join the fight, they are compared to the Aloads storming Olympus (Q.S. 1.516–521). In Book 2, Achilles is first briefly compared to a Titan (Q.S. 2.205) and then, together with Memnon, to the Giants or Titans (Q.S. 2.518–519). In Book 3, Achilles' death is illustrated with a simile recalling Tityos, killed by Apollo (Q.S. 3.392–400) and his bones on the pyre are compared to those of a Giant (Q.S. 3.724–725). In his ultimate rage, finally, Ajax Major is compared to Orion (Q.S. 5.404). After his suicide, he falls down like Typhon struck by lightning (Q.S. 5.485) and on his pyre, he burns—again—like Enceladus, this time after being struck by Zeus (Q.S. 5.641–651).[94] With Ajax Major, these Titano-Gigantic comparantia disappear, until they reappear for Ajax Minor in Book 14.[95] This imagery thus establishes an unmistakeable link between three 'larger than life' heroes in the *Posthomerica*.[96] Moreover, the extended similes invariably focus on a crime that challenges Olympian authority and, most often, on the ensuing divine punishment. This focus is fitting for all three heroes as well, for besides their incredible strength, they also have in common having triggered a divine intervention that (somehow) became the cause of their death: Apollo punished Achilles' *hybris* and Athena cast temporary madness over Ajax Major. Hence, the sudden reappearance of these Titano-Gigantic comparantia in Book 14 could imply that these three heroes have died for similar crimes, specifically going beyond their mortal limits and being righteously

93 Arnold Bärtschi's paper "Achaische Helden als kosmische Unholde? Eine besondere Gruppe von Gleichnissen bei Quintus Smyrnaeus" (contribution to the Quintus Workshop 2013; part of his PhD project on "Titanen, Giganten und Riesen im antiken Epos") includes counts and detailed observations about these similes and comparisons. See also Langella 2016.

94 James and Lee notice a climax in this succession of images (including a final simile comparing his pyre to that of Heracles) for Ajax (2000, 18).

95 I leave out one simile in Q.S. 11.415–421, which compares Aeneas to Zeus as he strikes down the Giants. Unlike the cited examples above, this simile has a Trojan comparandum and focuses on Zeus' role, rather than on that of the Giants.

96 For the great stature of these heroes and the comparantia used to illustrate it, see also Boyten (2010, 172–174). Carvounis adds comments on Ajax Minor in particular (2007, 251).

punished for their transgressions. However, it would be too rash to place the three heroes on exactly the same footing. For a start, Ajax Minor's crime is by far the worst, given its explicit judgment from Book 13 onward. His sacrilege started with rape in a temple under the very statue of the goddess, while ignoring the explicit pleas of his victim and disrespecting a divine sanctuary. This in itself was enough for Athena to unleash the cosmic storm that now takes place. During that storm, moreover, Ajax Minor gives proof of great *hybris*, not only by struggling against divine power, but also by assuming that he will in fact be stronger than the united gods. It is—or could be—the latter boast that triggers Poseidon to add his *nemesis* to Athena's and finish off the hero,[97] but it is clearly not his entire crime. Achilles may have been killed for similarly ignoring Apollo's warning and challenging him instead (Q.S. 3.46–59), but neither he nor Ajax Major ever committed an act of outrageous sacrilege. Apollo initially came down from Olympus to warn Achilles to calm down, rather than to kill him on the spot (Q.S. 3.40–42). Ajax Major received madness from Athena to prevent him from harming other Achaeans (specifically Odysseus), but was not condemned or judged by her (Q.S. 5.360–362). In both of these cases, divine intervention was needed to contain the formidable strength of the Aeacids, and their deaths were indirect consequences of these attempt. For Ajax Minor, however, it works the other way around: the gods resolve that he needs to be killed for his sacrilege, but his enormous strength considerably hampers their task. As stated in section 7.3.1, Ajax Minor is also the only case the gods explicitly agree on, and work together to address.[98] All in all, then, it seems implausible to me that, in retrospection, the deaths of Achilles and Ajax Major should be understood as equally great punishments as Ajax Minor's.

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97 In the Odyssean version of the same myth, Ajax's *hybris* is indeed the decisive cause of his death: "Aias was lost amid his long-oared ships. Poseidon at first drove him upon the great rocks of Gyrae, but saved him from the sea; and he would have escaped his doom, hated by Athena though he was, had he not uttered a boastful word in great blindness of heart. He declared that it was in spite of the gods that he had escaped the great gulf of the sea; and Poseidon heard his boastful speech, and at once took his trident in his mighty hands, and smote the rock of Gyrae and broke it asunder. And one part remained in its place, but the sundered part fell into the sea, that on which Aias sat at the first when his heart was greatly blinded, and it bore him down into the boundless surging deep. So there he perished, when he had drunk the salt water" (Menelaus: *Odyssey* 4.499–511; Vian 1969 T3, 171 and Carvounis 2007, 248). Quintus' text is more ambiguous: there is no clear causal relationship between Ajax's boast (cited above) and Poseidon's intervention. The only certainty is that the god's indignation is triggered by the fact that Ajax gets hold of a rock (Q.S. 14.565–570).

98 In contrast to some of the divine reactions to Achilles' death, and particularly Hera's invective against Apollo (Q.S. 3.96–138).

A final argument could be found in the obvious fact of Achilles' deification. The same god who has gone to such effort to establish Achilles' deification also kills Ajax Minor: Poseidon. This implies that the god must perceive a clear difference between both heroes, despite the fact that both die by the hand of a god after an act of *hybris*. It is perhaps appropriate that Achilles' deification and the destruction of Ajax Minor are both recounted in Book 14. These successive episodes do not directly interrelate, but the latter still invites an implicit comparison between Achilles and Ajax Minor. If mortal Achilles (just like Ajax Major) has once taken his power one step too far, Ajax Minor now actively uses it against the Olympians; or whereas Achilles has only threatened to attack a god, Ajax Minor actually engages in a physical power contest that threatens divine authority (see again Carvounis 2007, 251–253). This may well explain the difference in treatment of both heroes: whereas Achilles needed to be punished for one personal mistake, but was still accorded ultimate glory, Ajax Minor went so far that an example needed to be made. As a result, in the same book, Achilles' power is deified, and Ajax Minor's crushed by the united force of the Olympians. The fact that the punishing storm is the last episode of the diptych, of the book *and* of the epic also underlines the importance of this newly re-established divine authority: they firmly take charge of the situation at the end of the *Posthomerica*, not allowing anyone to thwart or doubt their power again.

7.3.3 *Apocalypse Now?*

Since Ajax Minor is the trigger of this divine retribution, it is unsurprising that he is the only Achaean hero mentioned in the heart of the storm passage. Besides him, only Odysseus is briefly pointed out later on, for obvious reasons (see section 7.4). The other Achaeans die in lengthy passages, collectively and in anonymity.[99] Only after Ajax Minor's death does the real size of the catastrophe become clear. Instead of subsiding, the storm continues in all its vehemence, causing many more losses (Q.S. 14.590–631). As mentioned above, Athena envisaged the storm as an example for all humans. The idea of a great destruction to punish one individual crime can be linked back to Book 13, where the entire sack of Troy was legitimated as payback for the abduction of Helen. During that retaliation, only one of the victorious heroes committed a crime that was explicitly condemned on the spot. That mischief by Ajax Minor now

99 However, "death was avoided by few, these saved by a favoring god or power" (Q.S. 14.627–628). As in Book 13, then, only the exceptional individual is helped by divine favour; otherwise destruction is all-encompassing.

triggers a new all-encompassing punishment.[100] The Achaeans first punished the Trojans, and now the gods punish the Achaeans (and humans in general).[101] In this, Book 13 and 14 seem to mirror each other: the Trojans and the Achaeans meet similarly all-encompassing dooms for similarly individual crimes and, similarly, the victimized party is completely unaware of the impending doom until it is too late.[102] However, in the end, the storm seems to reach even more catastrophic proportions than the Sack. The final (τις-)speech of the epic is not quite optimistic:

> (…) "Τάχα τοῖον ἐπέχραεν ἀνδράσι χεῖμα,
> ὁππότε Δευκαλίωνος ἀθέσφατος ὑετὸς ἦλθε,
> ποντώθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα, βυθὸς δ' ἐπεχεύατο πάντῃ."
> τις: Q.S. 14.602–604

> (…) "Just such a storm must have harried mankind
> At the time of Deukalion's prodigious fall of rain,
> When land was turned to sea, deep water everywhere."

An explicit reference to the Flood of Deucalion by (presumably) one of the Achaeans being shipwrecked gives a strong impression of the overall destructiveness of the storm from a mortal's point of view; it also makes explicit the feeling that the storm is intended as a general purge, erasing the Achaean fleet (and all that remains from the Trojan War) from existence in a supreme punishment. This idea is latent in several interpretations that have been proposed for this final scene: Carvounis makes a strong point in her analysis of the final scenes as the establishment of a new order in reaction to the decline of human mankind: the end of the heroic race, such as Hesiod first described it (Carvounis 2007, 255–256). The mention of Deucalion itself could be another mythological reference to the same idea (ibid. 256). However, Stoic philosophy understands the cosmos as an endless cycle of destruction and rebirth, based on a conversion of fire and water.[103] Thus, although the *Posthomerica* can be read from

100 A detail that may point to the similarity of the two situations is the occurrence of the verb ἐνήλιτε in both Q.S. 13.400 (about the adultery) and 14.436 (Athena about Ajax Minor; Maciver 2012b, 169).

101 Carvounis (2005, 168). For a reflection on the globalization of the punishment of this isolated offence into a cosmic repercussion, see also Carvounis (2007, 248).

102 The implicit dramatic irony in the victorious banquet of the Achaeans has been pointed out in sections 7.1 and 7.2.3.

103 "The starting and ending point for the world is a state of fiery perfection (…). The organization of the cosmos as we know it began with the complete conversion of this fire into

several (and quite different) perspectives, different lines of belief and interpretation seem to converge into one great apocalyptic idea in the final scene.[104] Why, though, should the entire Trojan War be erased? No coherent clues in this direction have thus far been provided in the narrative. Therefore, I am inclined to be cautious with this idea of a general and definitive destruction; not in the least because it may not be fully general and definitive. Several heroes (primarily Achilles and Neoptolemus) and thus their deeds and ideas are explicitly *not* included in this destruction. Additionally, not everyone caught in the storm actually dies: Odysseus is the one hero that explicitly has a future after the storm (Q.S. 14.630–631), and other (unspecified) parts of the fleet also survive and are eventually scattered over the seas.

Instead of merely wiping out whatever is left of the fleet, the storm has a few other specific foci after Ajax Minor's death. The hero's sacrilege was not the only mischief that had to be set right. Nauplius grasps the opportunity to seek revenge (τίσις, line 617) for Palamedes, and misleads certain ships with beguiling light signals (δόλος, line 623). Thus, he avenges the abuse of ruse by ruse, just as the storm itself provides a violent answer to Ajax Minor's aggression. Finally, the gods also take care of the wall of the Achaeans. Back in the *Iliad*, it was built without divine sacrifices, and the gods have been resolved to demolish it ever since (*Iliad* 7.442–463 and 12.4–35). As Carvounis indicates, the Posthomeric account of the destruction is faithful to its foreshadowing in *Iliad* 12: Poseidon, Zeus and Apollo work together in a collision of the elements, until all traces of the wall are erased (Q.S. 14.632–655; Carvounis 2007, 254–256). Hence, the storm seems to mark payback time for multiple, individual unsettled scores, ranging from pre-Iliadic times through a misdeed in the *Iliad* towards a crime committed during the Sack; both violence and ruse are punished and used as a means of punishment. Despite the overall apocalyptic tone of the scene, it does not seem to be the explicit intention to erase the Trojan War—and 13 books of the *Posthomerica*, for that matter—as such. Instead, the gods take (back) control over humanity.

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a watery starting point containing rational 'seeds' (…) which govern the further development of this raw material (Matter) into the traditional four elements (earth, air, fire, water)" (Inwood, B. New Pauly online, s.v. 'Stoicism'). Fire and water are also the elements that form the respective causes of general destruction in Books 13 and 14.

104 For a similar evocation of chaos in Seneca, see also Keydell (1949–1950, 85).

7.4 The End: Towards the *Odyssey*

If the storm does not envisage a global purge, there still is a clear sense of finiteness and conclusion to this scene. The seeming apocalypse could also be read as a narrative strategy to work towards a climax at the end of the epic.[105] After several instances of divine quarrel and the (sometimes seemingly unfair) supremacy of Fate, the united Olympians (re)introduce divine punishment and justice at the end of the epic.[106] Only one hero has certainly survived the storm they cause: "Athena (…) was torn between great joy in her heart and apprehension on account of prudent Odysseus, because he was destined to suffer many woes through Poseidon's hostility" (Q.S. 14.628–631).[107] This and the epic's very last words open a door towards the future: "Meanwhile those Argives who had been scattered by the storm continued their voyage. They landed in different places, where heaven guided each one, as many as had escaped the disastrous storm at sea" (Q.S. 14.655–658). Hence, the storm is not only a conclusion, but also a new starting point: that of the actual *nostoi*, and most particularly, of the *Odyssey*.

From this point of view, the storm forms—perhaps most of all—a transition. Quintus' epic occurs between the end of the *Iliad* and the beginning of the *Odyssey*. Although it thus deals with a mythologically continuous story and timeline, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in themselves are not quite so compatible between themselves, in certain regards. Not in the least, both epics have decisively different settings, which thoroughly influence their respective views on the Trojan War (present vs. past), and their perception of heroism and honour (Achillean vs. Odyssean needs and achievements).[108] The role of the gods is also very different in the *Iliad*, compared to the *Odyssey*. Horn argues: "Die *Odyssee* beginnt mit einer Götterversammlung (…), die wichtige Unterschiede

105 See also Vian, who argues that the choice to focus on Ajax alone gives the storm "la valeur d' un dénouement général" (1969 T3, 166). James finds it hard to link this idea to the sudden collective punishment of the Achaeans (2004, 340).

106 In the paper she presented to the Quintus Workshop 2013, Ozbek underlined the irreconcilable tension between Fate and the Olympians, of which the storm could be a final and exploding articulation and acknowledgement. Indeed, the supremacy of Fate need not necessarily be undone at the end of the epic. After all, it was Αἶσα who sent the Achaeans on their way and into this storm (remember her last mention in Q.S. 14.365). What does decisively change, however, is the perception of what power is in charge and their motivations.

107 Tomasso points at the sharp opposition between the sacrilegious Ajax Minor and the pious Odysseus that is thus established in the final scene of the epic (2010, 211–212).

108 See Horn's conclusions (2014, 332–336), which have been discussed in section 1.2.

zum iliadischen Weltbild aufzeigt. Indem Zeus das Verhalten der Menschen beklagt, die den Göttern Schuld für ihre Leiden geben, die sie selbst durch ihr eigenes Handeln heraufbeschworen haben (…),[109] wird deutlich, dass die Götter der *Odyssee* eine moralische Instanz sein können und Menschen für ihre Verfehlungen bestrafen" (2014, 243). Examples within the *Odyssey* include the punishment of Aegisthus and Ajax Minor (the latter quoted above in footnote 97) and Helius' revenge after Thrinacia (ibid. 261–262). Horn concludes: "Die Willkür der Götter in der *Ilias* bedingt die Bedeutung des heldenhaften Todes, der die letzte Ehrung eines ausgezeichneten Menschen darstellt, in der *Odyssee* jedoch sorgt die Vorstellung göttlicher Gerechtigkeit dafür, dass (Über-)Leben und die erfolgreiche Bewährung in wechselvollen Lagen einen Helden auszeichnen" (ibid. 336). Indeed, the gods show a different attitude towards morality in both Homeric epics, and the expected behaviour of mortals and heroes is grafted upon these differences. If the *Posthomerica* wishes to build a bridge between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, this storm also needs to initiate a shift of focus to launch gods and heroes—who have thus far been situated in a rather Iliadic context, and also (mostly) have behaved accordingly—into a new situation, with a new, different view on the Trojan War and its divine and heroic universe.[110] The complex intertextuality in the dream of Neoptolemus has made it sufficiently clear that Book 14 looks forward to the *Odyssey* as much as it looks back on the *Iliad*.[111] The apotheosis of Achilles could perhaps be marked as the

109 Zeus referred to σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν (*Odyssey* 1.34), just as Athena called Ajax's crime an ἀτασθαλίην (Q.S. 14.435, Carvounis forthcoming; for the connection between these divine conversations, also Bär 2016, 225–226). Thus, a link may implicitly be established between Ajax's guilt, the general punishment of the Achaeans and Zeus who, in the *Odyssey*, again considers that the mortals have themselves to blame. The Trojans similarly had themselves to blame for the Posthomeric sack. Thus, at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, this circle is complete.

110 Wenglinsky underlines the innovation that Quintus introduces by justifying divine chastisement of mortals at the end of his epic (2002, 184–187). Carvounis interprets the final passage of the *Posthomerica* (and the destruction of the wall in particular) as a transition to a new era (2007, 256): "The final scenes of Quintus' Posthomerica thus show the process through which the Trojan War becomes an event of a bygone past that is celebrated in epic" (ibid. 257).

111 This transition between epics has been a circumstantial part of Carvounis' study of Book 14 (e.g. the fact that both Achilles' power and the more crafty contributions of Sinon and Epeius are praised in Book 14: 2005, 138–139; the possible traces of both an Iliadic and an Odyssean Achilles in his dream appearance to Neoptolemus: ibid. 201). Other elements of this thematic transition, such as the final storm, including an opposition of Ajax (as a hero failing Athena) and Odysseus (as a hero respecting her) are pointed out by Tomasso (2010, 210–212). The fact that Athena and Poseidon are by far the most active and omnipresent gods in this storm may also be significant in anticipation of the *Odyssey*.

climax of an Iliadic heroic belief at the end of the Trojan War, whereas the scattered fleet (with final attention for Odysseus) is the logical starting place for Odysseus' ordeals. In between is an apocalyptic storm, which marks not only the end of Quintus' epic and ten years of warfare, but also looks back on those ten pre-Iliadic, Iliadic and Posthomeric years with a gaze of (re)new(ed) divine authority that will form a thematic transition towards and guideline throughout the *Odyssey*.

Conclusion: Worthy of the Aeacids?

> I'm waiting for a hero to save the day[1]

∴

Most of the *Posthomerica* could be summarized as one big quest for the right hero, for the right heroic strategy to win the Trojan War. Whereas the Trojans have desperately been in search of heroes 'to save their day' throughout the epic, the Achaeans have greatly benefited from Odysseus' new views on heroic tactics and—not in the least—from the arrival of Neoptolemus in their ranks. Before leaving his homeland, the latter's grandfather Lycomedes gave some final advice: "Stouthearted child, so like your mighty father, I know that you are strong and valiant. But even so no less than bitter war the deadly waves of the sea are cause[2] for fear, for sailors are always close to death. You should beware, my child, whenever you come to sail later from Troy or anywhere else, of the many dangers …" (Lycomedes: Q.S. 7.294–299). Quintus does not mention how Neoptolemus returns home after the Sack, but even before he has started on his heroic adventure in Book 7, Lycomedes gives an accurate description of what lies ahead, during and after the Trojan War. This citation brings together several interpretational lines that have run through my study. Essentially, Lycomedes seems to embed the heroic aspirations of his grandson—and thus the inheritance of Achilles—into a larger view of their universe long before the storm in Book 14 makes this explicit. I have now come to the point where such an overview, both of my own interpretation and of the place of this interpretation in the larger whole of Quintus studies, is in place.

My study was a linear, primarily text-internal reading of the *Posthomerica*. With this approach, I have aimed to present a coherent overview of the epic, an explanation of how the narrative functions and a personal interpretation of the heroic beliefs and practices of several of Quintus' most prominent characters, focusing particularly on passages and heroes that somehow engaged with notions of 'Homeric heroism'. The word 'heroism' has been used as an umbrella term for a series of observations about the practices and expressions of heroes, inspired by their convictions, motivations and goals in the Trojan War and—

1 "Hero"—Bloc Party.
2 In Greek, Lycomedes himself fears the sea more than war (δείδοικα).

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more generally—in life. With the term 'Homeric', I have always implied both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in their unity but also in their mutual differences. 'Homeric heroism' is a major field of research, and the term is open to quite various interpretations, as has been discussed in section 1.2. Since the word 'heroism' seems to suggest a more coherent idea than is necessarily present in these studies, I have mostly preferred qualified circumscriptions such as 'heroic convictions/codes/beliefs' instead. If the study of 'Homeric heroism' in itself is a vast area to navigate in, a study that applies such observations to Quintus is inevitably doubly interpretative. Globally, I have allowed my linear reading of the epic to influence the way in which I identified traces of Homeric heroes and their heroic convictions throughout the narrative, in order to maintain a primary focus on Quintus' epic as an independent composition. A major benefit of this linear approach is that evolutions of heroes and their heroic practices become naturally apparent as the narrative proceeds. Considering the *Posthomerica* as a keystone between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, I have found this focus not only fruitful, but also plainly necessary to understand several of these evolutions.

As has often been noted before and is generally accepted nowadays, the *Posthomerica* is designed to smoothly follow upon the final verses of the *Iliad*. Inevitably, Quintus thus inherits a few unfinished storylines from Homer's epic, which have to find their conclusions in the *Posthomerica*. The deaths of Achilles and Ajax Major form the main topic of the first five books, and the *Iliad* is still a prominent influence in this part of the narrative. As the epic proceeds, this direct connection with the *Iliad* gradually fades, and new storylines which are barely—if at all—known from Homer are introduced. Quintus accepts the challenge of fitting these new episodes into a narrative that has by now firmly assumed a Homeric tonality. Quintus' 'very Homeric' façade remains a useful tool to give shape to, for example, his version of Neoptolemus. However, at the same time, it becomes clear that Neoptolemus' strong resemblance to Achilles is not meant to be an exact reproduction—and the same could be said of Quintus' epic. The *Posthomerica* is by definition situated in the grey zone between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where inconsistencies between both Homeric epics, their respective focuses on 'heroism' and their perceptions of the Trojan War in general may arise. The way in which the Sack of Troy must be achieved may well present the most complex issue in this respect. Whereas *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represented essentially different ideas on this matter, the *Posthomerica* attempts to bridge them. All in all, then, Quintus' use of Homeric inspiration is linear (moving away from the *Iliad*), but also circular, as it works its way towards a clear transition to the *Odyssey*.[3]

3 A similar relationship with the *Aeneid* has most recently been proposed by Ozbek (forth-

What, now, does this mean for Quintus' conception of heroes and heroism? I have singled out two foci, which have become recurrent threads throughout my literary analysis. First, I have followed the path of the Aeacids through the epic. Essentially, this involves the last *aristeiai* of Achilles, his death and direct succession in the character of Ajax and, finally, the establishment of Neoptolemus as his heir, who takes on Achilles' inheritance and applies it to his final battles and, most importantly, the Sack of Troy. Secondly, I have paid attention to the discussions and continuous processes of evaluation and re-evaluation of heroic behaviour and beliefs in the *Posthomerica* in which the Aeacids have most actively been involved. The Aeacids hold a generally central place in the heroic universe of the *Posthomerica* and are often called the protagonists of the entire epic. Quintus' focus on the Aeacids is indeed telling, and perhaps to be expected in light of the *Iliad*. I would not, however, call the epic an *Achilleid*—or *Aeacideid*, for that matter. As the narrative moves away from the *Iliad* and towards the Sack, Quintus gradually has to let go of the idea of the primacy of one or a few protagonist heroes, and prepare a cooperation of all of these individuals to achieve one larger goal. This turning point has also been marked in the subdivision of my analysis into two major parts, the first focusing on the characterization of several individual heroes, and the second one on the Sack, in which these heroes come together. Book 12 is essential for the understanding of the bridge that the *Posthomerica* is building between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. From Book 1 onward, this explicit confrontation between heroes, which must result in a major decision to cooperate, has been carefully prepared. It has been noted in Chapter 2 that Achilles held the highest position in the heroic hierarchy of excellence on the battlefield. Most of the great hero's deeds and words aim to underline this personal position of supremacy, and Ajax follows in his footsteps. All of this sounds familiar from an Iliadic point of view, and it seems understandable that Quintus explicitly establishes their position at the beginning of his epic. However, when Ajax attempts to safeguard his rightful place at the top during the judgment of arms (Chapter 3), Odysseus alters the stakes of the game. Suddenly, different 'kinds' of heroes and skills turn out to exist side by side, and the necessity of reflecting, debating and arguing about this arises. Thus, Neoptolemus arrives in Troy in a slightly different context than that which existed when his father was still alive. Accompanied by both Odysseus and Diomedes at his arrival, the young hero is immediately implicitly embedded in a society where different heroic strategies exist side by side.

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coming in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*) and especially Carvounis (forthcoming). With this, they tread on fairly new ground which certainly deserves more thorough examination in the future.

Neoptolemus himself, cordially accepted as the primary battle hero because of his descent from Achilles, dedicates a considerable part of his deeds and speeches to expressing his own heroic focus: bravery and strength, against cowardice. This is the same focus his father had, but is now made more explicit than ever (Chapter 4). There seems to be less need for Neoptolemus to underline his personal supremacy on the battlefield—as the son of Achilles, this is more or less taken for granted by both his friends and foes—than there is to express the heroic convictions he represents, or—more bluntly—what 'side' he is on, what 'kind' of a hero he is. Thanks to the repeated shouts of the young hero during battle, it does not come as a surprise that, when in Book 12 (Chapter 5) the question of a new strategy arises, Neoptolemus emphatically chooses the side of his father Achilles, in strong opposition to Odysseus. Thus, the inevitable question is raised: violence or ruse? Quintus finds himself on the pivotal point between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* now. Several answers to this dilemma have been proposed throughout literary tradition. Not infrequently, these involve quarrel and radical changes of opinion. The Posthomeric version instead allows all heroes to hold on to their initial beliefs. Thus, Book 12 both initiates a new tendency that both directly prefigures the *Odyssey* and brings the reminiscence of the *Iliad* to its climax. Indeed, Book 14 not only catalyses the *Odyssey* in a climactic storm in which the gods resume their places and send the Achaeans on their way, but also celebrates their victory as a heroic battle success *and* consolidates Achilles' new status as a deified hero with a sacrifice (Chapter 7). It seems to me that, in this way, Quintus juxtaposes the Iliadic and the Odyssean points of view on the Trojan War. A friction that, according to some (later) traditions, existed between heroic convictions is not problematized in the *Posthomerica*, but rather accepted as it is. The strategy of the Horse is not the only instance where this happens. The Sack of Troy (Chapter 6) is described from a dual point of view, in which the perceptions of the suffering Trojans and the victorious Achaeans, the latter still stimulated by their heroic motivations, are contrasted without the narrator explicitly choosing sides. This time, the ambivalence recalls a friction within the *Iliad*, and more specifically between the Achaeans and the Trojans, who both fought in the Trojan War for decisively different reasons: the former seek to gain glory and revenge, the latter to protect their homes and families. Although this duality already existed in the *Iliad* (crystalized in, for example, the different heroic focus of Achilles and Hector; see section 1.2.3), it nowhere clashes so directly as when the city walls are finally breached. Thus, Quintus is again inevitably presented with a challenge that had been created in the *Iliad*, but has to be solved in the *Posthomerica*; and once again, he opts for a pure solution, outlining the friction but not choosing a position—staying as close as he can to Homer.

All in all, my investigations have thus revealed strong awareness and thorough knowledge of Homer's narratives on the Trojan War in the *Posthomerica*, but also a reflective point of view by Quintus, as he engages in several discussions that have been—and still are—raised on this topic. However, there is more. The question of 'Homer and innovation' may well be the major issue in Quintus scholarship nowadays. Just as the *Posthomerica* adheres to Homer to a certain degree, the epic also contains quite obviously *unhomeric* passages and influences. Some of them have been touched upon in the course of my analysis. A most remarkable example is Achilles' deification and his dream appearance to Neoptolemus. This passage, as discussed in Chapter 7, paradoxically establishes both a strong connection between the *Iliad*, the *Posthomerica* and the *Odyssey*, *as well as* an insolvable friction, since Quintus deviates from what is yet to come during Odysseus' *nostos*: Achilles will no longer be in Hades. Thus, aside from creating a linear end to the *Iliad* and setting up the story of the *Odyssey*, the *Posthomerica* also works towards a climax on its own behalf. Achilles' deification could be understood as an endpoint of the Aeacid storyline, and of their heroic characterization and conceptualization such as Quintus himself has developed it in his epic. Paradoxically, Quintus' adherence to Homer thus shows how his epic functions as an independent narrative composition as well.

With these observations, my study fits into the larger field of Quintus scholarship, which has decisively taken the position of 'Homer and yet not Homer' over the last few decades. Although 'Homer' was my own primary focus as regards Quintus' literary influence, I have also occasionally pointed out where other, younger and less Homeric influences manifest themselves. This focus in Quintus scholarship is still developing, and—despite the flying start it has recently made (not in the least thanks to the conference and volume of Bär & Baumbach, 2006, edd. 2007a)—it still contains a good deal of undeveloped potential to enlarge our understanding of how Quintus' epic engages with traditions other than Homer alone. For my own study, an inevitable counterbalance to 'Homeric heroism' is the Stoic tonality of certain remarkable passages in the epic, including the *ekphrasis* of Achilles' shield in Book 5, the consolations of Nestor in Book 7 and the dream of Neoptolemus in Book 14; such passages are in turn linked together by narrative motifs that create a network of post-Homeric ideas throughout the epic. As such, the same narrative situations are or can be considered, sometimes simultaneously, from several 'ideological' points of view, one reminding of Homer and another decisively deviating from his heroic world. This tension also indicates the marked lateness of Quintus' Homeric façade (e.g. Maciver). Current Quintus scholarship is more and more resigned to accept such frictions as a key part of the *Posthomerica*; as such, they

need perhaps not entirely be solved.[4] In short, the overall complexity of Quintus' epic is increasingly acknowledged and appreciated in scholarship of the last decade, and many paths lay still untrodden.

This brings me to several research questions that have crossed my path over the last few years, and which I have not been able to tackle myself, although they certainly deserve more detailed attention in the future. Among these roads not taken, I first of all believe that Quintus' heroes are not all—or not entirely—inspired by Homer (and/or Stoicism). As the epic proceeds, the tragic tonality of the narrative increases (especially in the last two books, but also before). It is my conviction that a thorough study of tragic influences on Quintus' version of the events and characters of the Trojan War could yet reveal another intriguing dimension of this rich poem. The same goes for the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, and by extension other later hexameter poems about the grand wars of the Age of Heroes. The reception of these myths in Alexandrian and late antique times was particularly multi-coloured, and the perception of heroes and their priorities a constantly shifting process. Hence, there are passages in the *Posthomerica* which I have not been able to discuss in detail, but which could form promising additions to my own focus on '*Homeric* heroism'. One example that comes to mind is the concept of the 'suffering hero' (e.g. Philoctetes in Book 9 and Paris in Book 10 each live through a painful ordeal in a setting far from the battlefield). The differences between the home-defending Trojans and their Achaean enemies also deserve more attention in the future. The question could be raised (such as Miguélez-Cavero has more explicitly investigated for Triphiodorus) how the defenders and the conquerors of Troy are distinguished from each other in their heroic characterizations. Despite occasional observations about how the *Posthomerica* divides its attention between the Trojan and the Achaean cause (e.g. Duckworth 1936, 78 and Jahn 2009), the Trojan heroes of Quintus' narrative (even their new champions in Books 1, 2 and 6–8) have received markedly less attention than their Achaean counterparts. However, it appears to me that their heroic dynamics and hierarchy are far from the same. Finally, the question has often been raised of how self-conscious the *Posthomerica* is on a metapoetic level. I am convinced, as other scholars are currently investigating, that Quintus' explicit adherence to Homer and the multiple frictions his epic simultaneously establishes give proof of a strong meta-literary reflective potential in the *Posthomerica*. Is Neoptolemus' relationship to Achilles a metaphor for Quintus' to Homer?

4 I owe this view to the Quintus Workshop 2016 ("Writing Homer under Rome: Quintus of Smyrna's Posthomerica"), whose organizers and participants I would like to thank for some very stimulating discussions on this topic.

Can omnipresent Fate be understood as an avatar of the narrator?[5] It has not been my present aim to answer these questions, but they will hopefully be addressed by future studies.

Endless enquiries still remain, and those I have raised and those that were asked before me will no doubt be raised again. As I look back on my own reading of the *Posthomerica*, it has been inspired by a general appreciation for Quintus in several respects: his re-telling of an old, famous and much-loved story; his skilful Homeric façade and his work's paradoxical singularity as a late antique poem. Most of all, I hope that my study has succeeded in presenting the *Posthomerica* as an original, coherent narrative about the Trojan War and an independent literary text, a poem worth being read in its own right. Over the last few centuries, the same questions again and again have been raised. First: is Quintus worthy of Homer? More recently: is he worthy of Late Antiquity? We could similarly imagine Neoptolemus visiting his father's grave, holding the big Pelian spear in his hand and wondering if he has finally done it—something "worthy of the Aeacids". What the author thought about this, we will never know. What Quintus' readers find will be different with every new reading. For me, perhaps the most relevant answer—and one that, with luck, could even motivate new readers in the future—is that the *Posthomerica* is just 'worth it'.

5 This is another reflection raised at the above-mentioned Quintus Workshop 2016.

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Quintus Workshop 2016 = pre-circulated papers, contributions to the Workshop *Writing Homer Under Rome: Quintus of Smyrna's Posthomerica* (Cambridge: April 16th 2016; organized by Prof. dr. Tim Whitmarsh, dr. Leyla Ozbek and Emma Greensmith)

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